

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(The Tiruvengadam Temple)

VOLUME II
1450-1830, A.D.

BY

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PUBLISHED

BY

SRI C. ANNA RAO, B.A.,
Executive Officer,
on behalf of the Board of Trustees of
the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams, Tirupati

1954

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Tirupati



PRINTED AT
TIRUMALAI-TIRUPATI DEVASTHANAMS PRESS
TIRUPATI.

PREFACE.

This volume deals with the history of the temple from about the closing years of the Sangama dynasty of the Vijayanagar Empire, say from 1450 A.D. to the early years of the nineteenth century when the English East India Company at Fort St George Madras, after dispossessing the Nawab of Arcot in 1801 A.D., assumed direct management of the temple and carried out a systematic investigation into its affairs till about 1830 A.D. It is only for the period from 1450 to 1638 A.D., that sufficient materials of historic value are available from the inscriptions on the walls of the temple. Although the last king of the Vijayanagar Empire continued to retain the title till 1665 A.D., the Carnatic country and our temple passed into the hands of Mu Jumla, former commander of the Golkonda forces, in July 1656 as his personal Jagir granted by the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan. The temple continued since then to be under the control of the Nawab of the Carnatic till 1801 A.D., except for a short period in 1758-59 as the French captured the temple in October 1758.

Materials for writing the history during the period of Muslim overlordship have not been obtained from inscriptions but from contemporary records of the English and the Dutch Factories in India and the East which came into existence in the early years of the seventeenth century. Foster's Book on English Factories in India throws some

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indirect light on our temple affairs also After the building of Fort St George in Madras in 1641 our position improves The Diary and consultations Book Military and country correspondence and Reports of secret committees throw more light on the political game in which our temple became a pawn

The Marattas entered the South as the comrades of the Bijapur muslim king in his invasions and established a prinopality in Tanjore Sivaji a little later came in as the ally of the Golkonda King in 1677 The net result of the ambitions of the Marattas was a treaty with the Moghul Emperor which secured for them one fourth of the revenues technically known as the *chauth* For the annual assessment of the *chauth* amount all the accounts and connected records including land registers came to be maintained in the Mōdi script of the Maratta language This is of interest to us because all the important old records of our temple whether in the Devasthanam office or in the Madras Records office are in that language and script Until they are translated into English or Telugu an authentic history of the temple during the Muslim and the East India Company rule could not be written Chapter XVII deals with this period There is not much to learn therein about the internal affairs of the temple its festivals the changes in religious practices and so on All that we learn is that for the first time in its history the temple and its properties were farmed out annually by bid to a

PREFACE

renter who managed to secure all votive offerings into his hands and pay the Nawab the bid amount. He seems to have devised the method of collecting the bid amount by such exactions as—poll tax, kānukas, varttanās, āṛjītams, etc. These have continued to be levied as a permanent source of income. We are loath to believe that Hindu pilgrims who are deeply religious would not voluntarily give large donations for charitable purposes connected with temple administration without exactions made.

Chapters XV to XXI register only such voluntary offerings and endowments from the days of Saluva Narasimhadeva Udayar to the end of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1665 A.D. Saluva Narasimha laid the foundation for the fame and popularity of the temple. It assumed superb proportions during the days of Śrī Krishnadevarāya, Achyutarāya and Sadasivarāya. The decline commenced with the battle of Talikota in 1565. But even during the decadent period the services in the temple retained their grandeur, those connected with Śrī Ramanuja in particular.

One hundred and sixty eight inscriptions relate to the period of Saluva Narasimha and his son Immadi Narasimha (1445-1505 A.D.). Out of these only 136 are complete ones useful for writing a history. The others are either incomplete, fragmentary or undatable. The period of Śrī Krishnadevarāya and his elder brother (1505 to 1530) gets two hundred and twenty nine inscriptions, out of which only 165 are complete ones. Achyutarāya's

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period (1530 to 1542) has two hundred and fifty one inscriptions but only 176 are complete ones. Sadasivaraya's period has one hundred and seventy six inscriptions but only 134 are complete ones. It will be seen that there are too many fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions. They testify to our national defect of not realising the historical value of inscriptions. A workman would mercilessly break to pieces a valuable inscription if only he could get one broken piece to fit into his new masonry.

The Aravidu kings of the Vijayanagar Empire ruled after the battle of Talikota for ninety years from 1575 to 1665 A.D. Although there are one hundred and eighty five inscriptions classed by the epigraphist as relating to this period only thirty three complete ones can be used for historical purposes. The remaining 152 inscriptions are either fragmentary, incomplete or undatable. Very many of these may well be ascribed to any period of our history.

Throughout the Vijayanagar period the management of the temple was in the hands of the Sthanattar who as we know (Chap XIII p. 359) formed a self constituted autonomous body of twelve members. After 1600 A.D. their strength got reduced to six. They were completely extinguished and along with them Tami as the language of the temple, presumably when the temple passed into the hands of the Goikonda Muslims about 1656 A.D. An inscription of the year 1684 A.D. confirms their disappearance and the appearance of a body of

PREFACE

Telugu Sthānālavāru of four members who however had not the power to receive endowments. There is in fact no Tamil inscription after 1638 A D.

All the endowments made during the long period of rule of the Saluva and the Vijayanagar kings are marked by three distinct features. They are in a sense different from the endowments made during the Pallava, the Chola and the Pandyan sovereignty. The latter devoted more attention to the burning of perpetual lights or Nandāvilakku while the provision for food offering was limited to the requirements of the temple establishment in ordinary days and for any additional members taking part in festival celebrations. The feeding of the pilgrims who turned up on such occasions was catered to by private charities. The Saluva period made a distinct departure. It was recognised that temple worship provided a course of self discipline and attuned the body and the mind of the worshippers for concentrated meditation. It was also recognised that managers of temples have a responsibility for providing amenities for the accommodation and feeding of the devotees. The Taittiriyaōpaniṣad starts with statement that food is Brahman. Therefore in Sri Vaishnavas temples consecrated water or Tirtham and consecrated food or Prasadam were made essential features of temple worship. The herbs used for the cold infusion of the Tirtham have health giving and curative properties. The menu for Prasadams has a wholesome body building value. Annadānam or free distribution of food in the name

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of God worshipped in a temple engenders in the donor the spirit of self surrender or non egotism. In a place like Tirumalai which pilgrims approach after trekking over long distances and after negotiating on foot with an empty stomach several steep ascents and descents of the hill wholesome tirtham and prasadam have great physical and psycho value. Endowments therefore became phenomenally numerous. The festivals and calendar days with which many of the endowments were associated appealed to the higher aesthetic sense of the pilgrims. The recitation of the Vedas and the Tamil Prabandhams and the discourses which were conducted in the temple as well as in the homes and mutts of the religious preceptors served to awaken the desire for spiritual education. Thus tirtham and Prasadam festivals and calendar days the recitation of the Vedas by Brahmins and of the Prabandhams by the Brahmin and the non Brahmin Srivaishnavas on a footing of equality formed the three distinguishing features of the endowments made during the Vijaya nagar period. Abuses did creep in the administration of these but endeavours were being made from time to time for finding suitable remedies.

In this volume these aspects have been dealt with at length. The names of the donors who came from all classes and all castes have been given in annexures to the chapters wherein the purpose and nature of the endowments have also been described. They illustrate how in India those who amassed wealth in the material field applied their surplus

PREFACE

wealth to encourage the activities of the spiritual workers who for that very purpose have to work in material poverty.

The recitation of the Prabandhams of the Alvārs has taken a deep root in the liturgy of Sri-Vaishnava temples, although the Agamas did not contemplate it. The Prabandhams are also of special importance to the Tirumalai Temple as they alone bear the most authentic testimony for the Vishnu swarūpam of Sri Venkatesvara. In Chapter XXIII, the history of the recitation of the Prabandhams in the Tirumalai-Tirupati Temples is given in Sec 2. In Sec 3 the authorities from the alvars songs have been profusely quoted for proving beyond doubt that even in days which the alvārs speak of as ancient Sri Venkatesvara has been considered to be Srīman Narayana, Self Manifest as an Image for the furtherance of the archa form of worship.

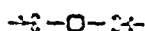
The numbering of the chapters and pages of this volume are in continuation of those of Vol. I

As there are a few more chapters of collective interest to print, the Index for Volumes II and III together will, soon be published if Sri Venkatesvara so wills and grants me a modicum of eye-sight and health.

I am thankful to Sri C Anna Rao Garu Executive Officer and to the staff of the T T D Press, for their kind co-operation and interest in bringing out this volume

THE AUTHOR.

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ERRATA.



Page	Line	For	Read
572	2	responsible	reasonable
597	8	forcelebrating	for celebrating
„	23	therefore	therefor
610	13	Rs.	panams
612	8	apprise	apprize
613	5	Other wise	Otherwise
615	6	were	was
616	23	could	would
618	29	omit 'the'	after 'But'
650	8	o	of
„	20	consisted	consists
670	9	defact so the	defacts
696	26	after, if	insert, he
708	28	Share	share
709	6	Share	share
722	7	prāsasti	prasasti
„	22	queen varadaji	Queen Varadāji
725	23	attechment	attachment
„	28	Br̥t	But
728	23	offerines	offerings
740	3	Rakshasatagadi	Rākshasatangadi
742	6	accout	account
746	31	nidasa	piḍasa
747	2	made in a	made in
749	9	belong	belonging
750	14	are	or

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Page	Line	For	Read
752	3	protagmists	protagonists
758	16	man	men
760	6	Sathammarshana	Sathammarshana
	8	tata	Tatā
,	13	may	very
"	18	doubt fully	doubtfully
"	27 & 29	1754	1574
	38	ayyangars	ayyangar s
761	6 & 10	Pullan	Pillān
"	13	Immadi	Immadi
764	5	Sengalteru	Sengallēru
831	25	Amagaon	Armagaon
832	8 & 11	Amagaon	Armagaon
,	5	Statement	statement
"	13	man	men
835	22	pillage	pillaged
850	28	seems	seem
863	11	jank	junk
868	26	distruction	destruction
869	21	King	Kings
871	13	approvel	approval
872	22	Maddanna	Mādanna
,	25	thus	this
875	3	mostely	mostly
878	3	Shahja s	Shahj i s
881	28	fulfialment	fulfilment
883	5	in few days	in a few days
891	23	rewards	records
892	3	pilgrims traffic	pilgrim traffic
"	28	traffic	traffic ing

ERRATA

Page	Line	For	Read
895	26	influence with	influence with him
908	12	aspire mastery	aspire for mastery
909	24	capt Polier	Capt Polier
912	5	than	them
916	25	cumbum	Cumbum
920	31	delete	time and the an.
921	12	Kanungoes	Kanungos
925	30	hirets hereto, as	Appendix X.
„	29	the year	the Fasli year
929	20	forms	form
933	11	decidedly	decidedly—
954	27	tanians	taniyans
968	27	verses	verse
1005	29	all bamboo	tall bamboo
1007	11	streams	streams.
„	15	to its name	its name
„	17	chasty	chaste
1010	15	Kulasekhara	Tiruppāna
1012	2	jatila	Jaṭila
1016	6	ruler	rule
1054	3	january	January
1078	8	were singled out for on all special favours.	were not singled out for any special favours.
1079	11	diwasams	divasams
1080	7	Sub donors	subdonors
1117	11	powers	powers
1119	5	alvars	alvar

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Page	Line	For	Read
1119	15	as successful	as a successful
1120	5	shorts	shoots
1127	8	Vol I in Chap VII	Vol I Chap VII
1129	11	Nil sōlai	Nil sōlai,
1130	29	gaeat	great
1134	29	stores	stones
1138	9	Tumbaka	Tambaka
"	25	Nilvāsal	Nilvāsal
1139	12	jiva as	jīvas
1140	15	legacy	a legacy
		terrestrials	terrestrials alike
1144	3	supreme	Supreme
1147	15	worshipped by	worshipped even by
1155	9	that hi	that his
1156	14	tall karmas	all karmas



HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(The Tirumalai, Tirupati Temples)

CHAPTER XV.

SALUVA NARASIMHA.

It was left to *Saluva Narasingayadava Maharaya* to open a new chapter in the history of the *Tirumalai and Tirupati Temple*. His devotion to this God may, to some extent, be explained by the fact that he was the great grandson of *Mahamandalasvara Misaraganda Mangideva Maharaja*, who however, had not the agnomen or birudu "*Sāluva*" prefixed to his name. It was he that gold gilt the *Vimānam* and the *Sikharam* of the *Tirumalai Temple* in 1359 A.D. The inscription being in Telugu with a Kannada tinge in the language we may infer that he was in touch with the people of both countries. The capital of his ancestral territory was known to be *Kalyānapuram* (in *Nizam's Dominions*). We are aware that *Yadavaraya Sri Ranganatha* built a palace for himself in *Tirumalai* in 1352 a short time before his death and that no *Yadavaraya* appears to have stepped into his place. *Mangideva* played the most prominent part in the military campaign against the Sultan of *Madura* under the command of Prince *Kumāra Kempanna*. We found that he was in *Tirumalai* just about the time of *Sri Ranganatha*.

Yadava's death and the return of the God of Srirangam towards Srirangam and he also did the unique service of making the Vimanam and Kalasam lustrous. It may reasonably be presumed that he was given the governorship of the erstwhile Yādava rāya country by the Vijayanagar King Bukkaraya I. But there is nothing to show that he transferred his capital to Chandragiri. His great grand-son, Mahamandalēsvara Mōdini Mīsaraganda Kattāri Saluva Narasingayyadēva Maharaja is said to have done so, and to have kept the Mūlabalam or the strongest and best tried section of his army at Chandragiri. He would have inherited his great grand father's piety and a special reverence to the God of Tiruvēngadam. This seems to have been a characteristic of all the members of the Sāluva family. The word Sāluva seems to be the name for hawk. If so he must have been regarded as sweeping down on his enemies as a hawk does on its prey. There is an edict of his (IL 30) issued in December 1467 making a grant of three villages Mupaduvēṭa Mangoduvelada and Mananūru for making sumptuous daily offerings to Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati. This edict also permitted the Sthanikas in Tirupati to appropriate to themselves daily a quantity of prasadam similar to the practice in Tirumalai to have the donor's share of the Prasadam sent to his Ramanujakūṭam to be distributed there to pilgrims by his agent Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar and above all to have a certain daily service of supplying parimalam (refined camphor,

musk and saffron) carried out in the Tirumalai temple by the non-brahmin Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas who were shown in return certain honours. The inscription is in Kannada showing that he wanted this important edict to be in his native language and not Tamil. *This unique privilege which he gave to the Sattada Śrī Vaiṣṇavas shows the catholicity of his religion.* The inscription also shows how ready he was to see that men doing service in the temple should be recompensed adequately.

In his political career, he withstood the temptation of making undue use of the power and influence which was his more than that of his overlord in Vijayanagar. He was able to keep himself above exciting the jealousy or envy of his numerous cousins and nephews, all of whom were powerful. He appropriated to himself no higher titles than they enjoyed. This self-control and consideration for others he seems to have evinced even in religious matters.

He was lucky in having as his co-worker in temple affairs a gentleman of wide understanding and experience in Śrī Kandaḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar. He seems to have had implicit faith in his honesty, capacity and application to work. But it is too much to say that he was his spiritual teacher or guide. The terms in which the Ayyangar is referred to in the inscriptions do not admit of that status being given. A separate chapter is devoted to considering in detail Mr. Ayyangar and Saluva Narasimha.

He describes himself as the disciple of Alagiya Manavāla Jiyar of Kanchipuram. His life period is said to be from 1430 to 1496 A.D and Saluva Narasimha's rule from 1445 to 1492 A.D. They worked together in the prime of life. For the Ramanujakūṭams which Narasimha started in Tirumalai and Tirupati Ramanuja Ayyangar was the unfettered manager. Appreciating his economical management of these institutions and the savings effected he was made by Saluva Narasingha's son the Officer in-charge of the Por Bhandaram for jewellery and the silver and gold vessels in the temple (Por Bhandaram Kāniākshī) (' *செந்திரமலைப் பரந்தரம்*) so that they may be kept in good repair. For the festivals which Saluva Narasimha instituted the budget was drawn up by Sri Ayyangar. The Sāttada Sri Vaishnavas were the exclusive disciples of Sri Ayyangar. They cultivated flower gardens and supplied parimalam everyday for the Alagap pirānar Tirumanjanam of the God. Above all this he made them share in the daily routine of temple service the privilege of reciting Tiravōymolī in company with the Brahmins and to receive their share of the emoluments. The credit for all these must be given to Saluva Narasimha and Ramanuja jointly. A very large part of Vol II of the T T D Inscriptions represents their joint work. Another instance of laying stress on social justice based on personal purity irrespective of the distinctions of caste created by the accident of birth is the importance attached to the reading of the Kārikapurānam

IMPROVEMENT IN THE TEMPLES

on the Utthāna Dvādasi Day before day-break by a member of the first Acharya purusha's family. Although the celebration of the Kāśika Dvādasi is mentioned as early as in the year 1308 A.D., it became a regular festival only in 1494 (II 115) as is seen from an endowment made by Tirumūra-urudaiyan Māru Nayinar Perumakkal and Govindar. These are outstanding developments in the administration of the temple in which the secular as well as the religious side seems to have heartily co-operated.

Periya Raghunatha's Temple.

Until Sāluva Narasimha entered the scene there was very little improvement in Tirupati and its Govindaraja's temple. *During his reign* of about half-a-century *the festivals and food offerings increased in number*. There was also a *new temple for Sri Raghunatha—called Periya Raghunatha* to distinguish the deity from the other Raghunatha installed in Sri Ramanuja's 'Shrine—constructed in 1480 (II 73) by one Narasimharaya Mudaliar for the merit of Saluva Narasimharayar. An endowment for a supplemental food offering was also made on 29-10-1481 (II 74)

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar constructed a *temple for Kulasekhara Alvar in November 1468 A.D* for which the Sthanattar endowed as Saivamanya the lands in Ilamandaiyam Kūraikkāl

Yugadi and Dipavali.

Adhyayanotsavam.

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NEW FESTIVALS INTRODUCED

vadhyayanam¹. In both cases the donor's share of the offered prasadam went to the Ramanujakutam for distribution to Sri Vaishnavas by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar. The *Adhyayanotsavam* is a festival repeated on two occasions in the year, that is, in the month of December as well as in April both being celebrated only in front of Udayavar (Sri Ramanuja) in his Tirumalai Shrine. The festival in Tirupati is not being referred to here. The prasadams are first to be offered to Tiruvēngadamudaiyān and then to Udayavar.

Pavitrotsavam.

Pavitrotsavam was another festival newly introduced during this period in an endowment by Kaṭṭārī Sāluva Mallavyadēva Maharaja in 1464 (II. 18) being a five day's festival in the month of Avani. It has a ritualistic form.

Padiya Vettai.

Padiya Vettai (Hunting) festival (பாடிய வேட்டை) first commenced in 1456 although one would expect it to have been a very old festival seeing that the God is on a thickly forested hill of which the original owner is believed to be Sri Varaha Swami (the Boar Avataram of Vishnu)

Kodai Tirunal and Tiruppalli-Odam.

Kodai Tirunal and Tiruppalli-Odam, (கோடைத் திருநாள் திருப்பள்ளி ஓடம்,) or floating festival, in Tirumalai is first heard of in 1468, when Sāluva

1. “உடையவா எம்பெருமானா சித் மாஸத்தில திருவழியெந்
கேட்டருளும் நாட பணிராண்டுகும்.”

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Narasimharaya during 3 days of the latter ten days of the Kōdai Tirūnal instituted a floating festival during which occasion the Utsava Murti is entertained in a Vasantamantapam constructed by him in the middle of the tank or Pushkarini. But *Vasanta utsavam* itself is an older festival and Erramanchi Periya Pemma Nayakkar is said to have attended the same in 1360 A.D. The festival is in the Vasanta Rtu (month of Masi). Allied to this is the Nāvalūrru festival (நாவலூர்) in Panguni month.

Dola Mahotsava Anna Unjal Tirunal is another festival (தொல் மஹோத்ஸவ ஂனா உஞல் திருநல்) introduced by Saluva Narasimha under the inspiration of Kandadai Ramanuja as a five days festival. It may have been in the month of Mithuna.

Excepting perhaps the Pavitrotsavam which has Vedic rituals associated with it all the others are of the luxury pattern.

Food offerings increase.

In the matter of food offerings also this period showed a marked increase. Without taking into account the offerings made during festivals of one sort or another the food offerings, between the years 1454 and 1494 A.D., were 177 marakkals of rice daily in addition to 24 marakkals daily which obtained at the end of 1450 A.D. This does not include the Mahannivedyam (Tiruppavada) of 200 marakkals offered on certain special occasion. This was contributed not by Saluva Narasimha alone.

THE FESTIVAL AND VISESHA DIVASAM DAYS

There are several others also as noted below. They include princes and devotees. Even emperumā-nadiyars have made their contributions Sāluva Narasimharaya Uḍaiyar, his Queen, his mother and his sons, his brother and his military commanders, other members of the royal family (5) Feudatory chiefs and subordinates (16) Jiyars (5), Kandadaḷ Ramanuja Ayyangar, Tōlappar, K Appachchiyar Anna; Kumāra Tāttayyangār; Ekakis (12), Brahmins (7), Tiruchchukanur Subhaiyar (5), Temple accountants (18); citizens and merchants of Tirupati (4) viz., Sathakōpadāsar Narasimharāya Mudaliar, Periyaperumal dāsar Ariyarāya Mudaliar, Puḍōhar Venkata setti Narayanan and Saranu setti, public works Officers of the temple (3) dancing girls (3) and others (7)

The list is given in detail to show that the Sri Vaishnava propaganda was having effect on the public at large and was not confined to a few prominent people.

The *festival and the Visesha divasam days* (special calendar days) on which food offerings were generally made to the Utsava Murti during this period are briefly summed up in an endowment by one of the Public Works Officers of the temple, Tiruvenkatachcherukkan Emperumanar, for the spiritual merit of Immaḍi Narasingarayar Maharayar (Narasimha's son) II. 138; 20-9-1504.

For 7 Brahmotsavams @ 13 for each	... 91 days.
For Tiruvadhyayanam from Iyalpa-	
tuvakkam to Tannir-amudu	... 24 ,,

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Kodai Tirunal	20 days.
Unjal Tirunal	5
Pavitrōtsavam	5 ,
Tirukkārtikai	1 "
Arpisi Pūrādam (Senai Mndaliar birth)	1 ,
Tirudvādasī (Mukkotī) for Venkatatthuraivar	1
Sri Jayanti (to Periya Perumal)	1 "
Ani Pūrādam	1
Ani Pūsam	1 ,
Sri Rama Navami	1 ,
Vasanta Purnami	1
	<hr/>
Total	153 days.
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Thus in a year 153 festive days came to be observed

On these 153 days there were more than the 153 taligais which this one individual alone offered. We may multiply this by at least 2, so that in a year there would have been 306 taligais in addition to the daily tastik of 177 taligais and a number of 200 marakkals Tiruppavadal. The provision of food on the 153 festival days would naturally have been sufficient to feed $8 \times 181 = 579$ persons a day. On the ordinary days the temple food would have been ample for $8 \times 177 = 1416$ persons. We thus have a rough idea of the number of pilgrims who may have been daily visiting the temple. The temple servants who had their mamool share of the food offerings sold it in their turn to pilgrims. This seems to have been a recognised practice.

TIRUVANDU ELUTTIDAL

The *cash endowments* made during this period were 70 in number and amounted to 1, 15, 605 panams.

The names of some of the donor's are Saluva Timmaraja; Tōlappar Ayyangar and Kumāra Tāttayyengar, sons of Cottaī Tirumalinambi Tiruvenkatattayyengar, Acharya Purushas, of Rs 7000 and Rs 5000 respectively; their disciples Ravu Pinnanna Bhūpāla Nṛisimha Naranāyaka and Kēsa Nayaka each Rs 4000, Saṭhakopadasar Nara-simharaya Mudaliyar a number of endowments amounting to Rs 13,200 panams and Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar's 10,300 panams in cash and the excavation of a large number of irrigation channels besides some villages.

Saluva Narasimharayar, his queen and the other members of his family also made endowments of lands. The total number of villages endowed during the period was 26½. Their annual income has, however, not been stated anywhere, the details of the services to be rendered alone being mentioned in each case.

“Tiruvandu Eluttidal” or writing the New Year's Accounts.

One other noteworthy point is that the *Adi-ayanam* has always (ஆடி அயனம்) been associated with a special function in the Tirumalai Temple. It is called now-a-days, (ஆனிவரை ஆஸ்தானம்) *Anivarai Asthanam*. On this day, in the morning, after the usual Tiruvāradhanam or Nityarchana for Periyaperumal is over, the Utsavar, with the Nachchimar

holds in the Tirumāmaṇi maṇḍapam what is really a Durbar All the officers return the ensignia of their office and these are placed at the feet of Malaikunṇa nira perumal the Utsavar A fresh investiture ceremony is then held when the Archakas Jiyar and the Trustee receive their ensignia afresh The accounts for the new year are opened afresh.

This opening of the new year account came to be known as Tiruvandu Eluttīḍal திருவண்டெழுதல் or the new year's writing (of accounts etc.) Although Ādiayanam has always been (from 966 A.D) observed by offering Tirumanjanam to Pēriya Perumal, it is nowhere mentioned in clear terms that the accounts for the year open afresh on that day The first mention of it is in an inscription dated 9th March 1494 relating to an endowment made by the accountants Mārunayinār Perumakkal and Govindan It must have come into vogue some years earlier although no mention is made thereof In any case it seems to have attained an importance during Sāluva Narasimharaya's time

TIRUVENKATA MAHATMYAM.

By far the most outstanding event during this period was the compilation (in what language we are not explicitly told but must have been in Sanskrit) of a work called by its author Puṣiṇḍi Venkatatturāṭṭar (alias Jiyar Ramanujayyan) Tiruvēṅkata Mahatmyam The compilation was for the first time solemnly announced and openly read out by the author in the presence of Malaikunṇyanīrān and

PULUGUKKAPPU MURAI

the Nachchimar on 27th June 1491 (II. 95). We have nowhere been given an idea of the contents of that work, but shall consider it in a separate note. The *object of the author* seems to have been to give a mythical origin of the Archavatara Tiruvengadamudaiyan on the Tirumalai Hills which would appeal strongly to the religious sentiments of Hindus

Pulugukkappu Murai.

(புழுதுக்காப்பு முறை).

Another event which has appealed strongly to the imagination of succeeding generations is what has been called *pulugukkappu* which means smearing the entire body of Periya Perumal with scented civet oil which is specially prepared in the temple

The custom of smearing the face of Periya Perumal every day at the time of the morning Tiruvārādhana (Nityarchana) from the month Adi to Margali (6 months) with specially prepared civet oil was an innovation made by Mudaliar Tirukkalkānridasar Alagappiranar of Tirupati on 16-7-1434 This must have been done at the time of the daily Tirumanjanam of the Silver image of Manavala Perumal It has already been noticed that this daily Tirumanjanam of the Silver Image was made more attractive to the devotees by the addition of perfumery to the sweet smelling herbs which from the earliest times were added to the water used for Tiruvārādhana This practice was inaugurated by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangai on 18-1-1465 and

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was financed by Sāluva Narasimhadeva Rayar (27-12-1467) *This Tirumanjanam came to be known as Alagappiranar Tirumanjanam (II 20 and II 30)*

Van Sathakopan Matham (Ahobila Mutt)

In Tirumalai as well as in Tirupati there existed from the beginning of the 14th century a habitation for the representative of this mutt who enjoys certain honours and performs some services. It is perhaps worth while to find out something about the origin of this matham.

The earliest mention of a Van Sathakopan Nandavanam in Tirumalai is found in an inscription I 104 dated 1339 A D, which gives an account of the transfer of the Arisanalayam Tiruandavanam and matham to a Jiyar who was charged with the duty of performing certain services to the temple. One of these was the offering of Amuduppadi and Sattupadi to the Utsavar on the 4th festival day while seated in the Arisanalayam and the Van Sathakopan Nandavanams. The endowment trust was made by Singayya Dannayaka in 1339. Singayya was a man from the Mysore country and was Maha Pradhani of the Hoysala King Vira Ballala III. Therefore it may naturally be inferred that the Van Sathakopan Nandavanam was the creation of this man of the Mysore country. From the tradition of the Ahobila Mutt we learn that Adi Van Sathakopaswami was originally a native of Tirunārayana puram. There is however some doubt as to the

date of his birth, as to when he resided in Tirupati and when he went to Ahobīlam where he was ordained as a Sanyasi by God Lakshmi Narasimha Himself. Epigraphically, it is certain that there was a Van Sathakopan Nandavanam at least from the date of Singayya's sojourn in Tirupati i.e., from about 1320 A.D. It is possible that the dēśantari-in-charge of the Nandavanam was not a Sanyasi, but was only a celibate called Siyar (சியர்). The next mention of a Van Sathakopa Jiyar (this time it is a Jiyar in clear terms) is found in an inscription II 83 dated 6-6-1485 relating to the completion of the verandah of a mantapam in front of Śrī Govindaraja's temple by one Nallar Angāṇḍai, the stone foundation of which had been laid by Van Sathakopa Jiyar some time previously (முன்பு) from the income of the Tiruvidaiyāttam village of Pūṅgōdu. As the village was temple property the Jiyar could only have supervised the construction of the Mantapam. The Tamil word 'munṇāl' would only mean formerly. It may be that the Jiyar lived in Tirupati about the beginning of the 15th century. The traditional account places the first Jiyar in 1378 A.D. But that Jiyar could not have been the celebrated Āḍi Van Sathakōpa Swami, who took sanyāsam in Āhobīlam and founded the Ahobīlamutt that is in existence to-day. The old Jiyars, who were his predecessors would have been just like any of the many ordinary Jiyars who had mathams in Tirumalai and Tirupati to attend to the comforts of pilgrims coming from the Mysore country.

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It is responsible to believe that the Ven Sathakopan Jiyars of the Saluva Narasimha period were not the Ahobila mutt Jiyars, as their connection with Ahobilam is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions. A further account of the mutt will be given later.

Endowments and offerings mainly Kamyartha.

A history of the Tirumalai Temple is not like other histories. Its main object is not to trace the material prosperity of a country and its peoples from age to age. *The temple has been always considered a spiritually active centre to which those having faith resort generally at critical periods of their lives. Their visits and their offerings are more often for relief from troubles or for the achievement of their aims in life. As has already been pointed out the Alvars have said that the God of the Vengadam Hill bestows on His devotees whatever they desire to have in this life or the life hereafter. So, it may not be improper if we attempt to understand the motives of the donors. The motive in most cases is safe in God's keeping. It is nowhere divulged in the preamble to an endowment except when it was the intention of the donor that some one for whose benefit it was made should be informed of it. Of this nature are some endowments and gifts made by the King's Officers and dependents. When the King himself makes a grant the motive behind it is seldom mentioned. There are however exceptions to this. For instance Tirukkalattideva Yadvayaya while making a grant of Kudavur states clearly*

ENDOWMENTS BY DEVARAYA AND SALUVA

that he did so at the request of the Sthanattar. There are again grants which are Nishkāma Karma (done without the expectation of reward). Examples of these are Samavai's grants and the installation of Manavala Perumal, Parāntaka Dēvis gift of a gold pattam and the grant of milk and curds by Rajendra Chola's Queen; so also the gift of a gold flower for the Vaikuntha-hastham of Tiruvengadamudaiyan by King Hōbala. In most other cases a motive can generally be traced.

To the *Yadavarayas* in general Tiruvengadamudaiyan was a family deity. Their prosperity depended on His Grace. Their gifts do not appear to have been made at critical periods in their rules as votive offerings. But after the commencement of the Muslim incursions into the South most grants seem to have had some connection with their prayer for fulfilment of desires or achievement of ambitions. *Mangideva* for instance fixed a golden *sikharam* over the *Vimanam* just after his Military success over the Muslims and the assumption of office as Governor of Chandragiri Rajya. *Bukkarayas* Sandhu of two Tiruppōnakam daily and his Brahmotsavam (I 178, about 1365 A. D.) seem to have had some thing to do with his capture of Mudgal fortress, and *Devaraya's* (II) grant of Vikramādityamangalam, Elamandīya and Kalaru Viddale in 1429 seems to have had a definite connection with his completing the fortifications of the seven walled City of Vijayanagar as part of his preparation for aggressive military

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operations. After the death of Devaraya II in 1449 A D and when the rather young Mallikarjuna was ruling, Saluva Narasimha's operations in the east for consolidating and expanding the Empire and for curbing the Orissa King caused some apprehensions to Mallikarjuna who went over to Penu gonda about 1456 with his Minister on the delicate mission of finding out what Saluva's activities and motives were. Saluva Narasimha and then in all likelihood to pray to his Guardian Deity to create a good impression in the mind of the Emperor. We find him making at this time a grant of Alipuram village as Sarvamanya for offering 12 Tirupponakam daily. The misrule of Virūpāksha who seems to have succeeded to the throne about 1468 must have caused considerable anxiety to Saluva Narasimha who was engaged in the task of consolidating his own territory and therefore the Empire also right up to Masulipatam. Any interference from Virūpāksha out of misunderstanding or jealousy would have caused him considerable embarrassment. So we find him making a grant on 16-3-1468¹ of five villages (Vnnjikuppani etc) for 30 daily food offerings. In 1472 the death of the Orissa King and the succession dispute between Mangal and Hambor gave room for the Muslims to interfere in the East Coast affairs. This meant that Saluva Narasimha had to encounter the Orissa and the Muslim forces at the same time. In the early months of 1481 A D., he was on the point of being attacked by Muhammad

DETAILS OF VILLAGES ENDOWED

Shah III, but for some unaccountable reason the Muslim altered his plan and swooped down south, looted the Kanchipuram Temple and massacred the Brahmins there. Later on, after his return to Masulipatam, he attacked Saluva Narasimha, but suddenly turned his wrath against Hamber in Kondavid. It was when the danger first threatened him in 1472 that *Saluva Narasimha* took on an *Uthhāna Dvadasī Day*, a vow to grant *Durgasamudram* village to the Deity for the special purpose of constructing and repairing the temple buildings evidently in order that his own domains may as a boon stand unimpaired. But he fulfilled this vow only in 1482 after the death of Muhammad III. Shortly after this, about 1485 A D, he became the virtual Emperor and then he built a temple for *Lakshmi Narasimhaswami* at the foot of the *Tirumalai Hill*. We thus see that political turmoils and human ambitions determined in a large measure the religious tempo of men to seek divine help and to make endowments in grateful acknowledgment of that help.

Names of villages endowed during Saluva Narasimha's period.

A Sarvamanya grant of *Alipuram* village was made on 12-9-1456; *Mupaḍuvēta* and *Mangoduvelala* in Padavidu Rajya and Maṇamūru below the Tirupati Tank on 27-12-1467; *Agaram Murukkampattu* in Tanigam-nādu of Chandiagudi Rajya on 16-3-1468, *Vaṅṅipākkam*, *Mallimalai*. *Serulakkūr*, *Bhīmapuram* and *Valaimankondon* on 16-3-1468,

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Dommarappaṭṭi in Padaivittu Seemai on 15-6-1473
Durgasamudram in Tirukkudavūr nādu on 30-5-1482
 as grant for constructions of buildings gopurams
 mantapams etc , *Gundīpundī* was endowed specially
 for Alagappiranar Tirumanjanam on 11-8-1484 A.D

One Vallabhaiyyadeva Maharaya endowed *some village* in Poṭṭapinādu whose *name is missing* in the inscription One Pallikondaperumāl Karpūram Mūvarayar endowed a village called *Enṇaiwāsai* in Solamandalam for the special benefit of Tirumangai Ālvār Temple making Emperumanar Jiyar as the trustee on 27-11-1472 One Dhonakonda ōngāram Nayakkar and another Somanātha Dikshitar of Purudagunta *each endowed 216 kuli of 1001 land in Alipuram* in August 1473 A.D One Mukkappalam Nagama Nayakkar endowed the Tiruppaṇṇipuram village of *Tiradampāḍi* in Kauchūpoṭṭu Seemai (which was given to him by Narasimharava Udaiyar for military service) on 1-8-1487 Koil kōlvi Emperumanar Jiyar secured from one Kōnōriraja two villages *Marutturaluli* and *Vaṭai-ulachcheri* in Solamandalam on 19-8-1493 A.D

Periya Timmaraja Udaiyar endowed Puduchcheri which is a part of Veṭṭuvakkulattur for Sri Govindaraja on 5-6-1491 *Avalliyirumamudram* (a new village being half of Pallam) was endowed by Kaudalai Ramanuja Ayyangar for Suvongadamudaiyan Govindaraja and Kulasabara Alvar on 8-7-1491 The villages of Kalavaiputteri Koarur and three other villages find place in the inscriptions

TIRUKKAIVALAKKAM, CASH PAYMENTS

as endowments; but the inscriptions being fragmentary the names of the donors and the date cannot be fixed.

A plot of land known as Onnatōṇḍān paḷḷam in “Tirumānēri seemai was endowed by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar on 26-8-1496 for certain food offerings to be made on the 10th festival day of each Brahmotsavam in a mantapam there. What is of special interest in connection with this endowment is an item of expenditure known as Tīrukkaivaḷakkam or cash payments made to temple servants for the extra service rendered for such festivals. The same item occurs in a previous inscription (50) of the year 1473 in connection with Dōlamahōtsava Anna Unjal Tirunal. The amount of Tīrukkaivaḷakkam expenditure alone shown therein is $876\frac{1}{2}$ panams during 5 days of the festival. This system of remuneration in cash was introduced in 1473; and it was left to be distributed at Sri Ayyangar's discretion. But after he became Porbhandāramdar in 1494 A.D., he systematised the expenditure and named the Officers eligible to receive the remuneration, including himself as one, being the Porbhandaramdar. In the present instance this item of expenditure for one day of the Pushpayāgam festival was 140 panams. It is of great interest as the details of the expenditure are shown, the recipients and their share. Thus—

60 panam for the 12 nirvāham of Sthānattār;
22½ „ for 4½ Vagai;

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

5	panam for Ramanujayyengar for Porbhanda	ram ,
5	, for Tiruppani Pillai (of Tiruppani	Bhandram) ,
4½	, for Lachchinaikkarar ,	
4	, for Prabandham riciters (two) ,	
2	, for Ramanuja Timmayyengar	
2	„ for Kangāpippa ,	
5	, for Vahanam bearers ,	
1	„ to Adhikari ,	
1	to Pachchadikkārar (distributors) ,	
2	, to Viṇṇappam Seyvār (seekers of	permission to start a function) ,
3	to Tēvayāl (temple cooks)	
4	to Sāttada Ekāki Sri Vaishnavas of	Ramanujakūtam
2	to Singamuraiyan (fuel supplier)	
1	, to Tiruvettuvagai (announcer)	
1	, to Kaikkōlar (servants) ,	
2	„ to Naṭṭuvar and Muṭṭukkārar (dance-	master and tune keeper) ,
2	to Emperumānadiyār (dancing girls)	
2	to Dōlanāgasvarakkārar (drummers and	pipers)
1	, to Paduvar (songsters)	
1	to Paṇimurai (skilled artisans) ,	
1	to Tiruvidhinunalyar (street sweepers) ,	
1	„ to Kuyavar (potters)	
1	„ to Sippiyār (Silpies)	
1	to Vāṇal Kollar	

IRUKKAIVALAKKAM, CASH PAYMENTS

1 panam to Uvachchan (the man using the small
hand drawn);

140 ,, for 29 items (about 50 or 60 persons).

This item of expenditure exhibiting the persons eligible to receive payment was an innovation made by Sri Ramanujayyengar. This list gives an idea of the kind and number of servants employed in the routine work of a temple. Even the food offerings (except the $\frac{1}{4}$ share due to the donor) seem to have been distributed duly among these leaving very little for the desantari viniyogam (or distribution among pilgrims). It also gives a rough idea of how temple administration was becoming more and more cumbersome. It is worth noting that while payment was made for reciting Prabandham (Tamil Tīruvāymolī recital), there is no mention of such payment being made for reciting Vedaparayanam till the end of the 15th Century A D, inspite of the fact that Devaraya Maharaya made herculean endeavours to establish Vedaparayanam Service in the temple. The office of Sthanattar became a remunerative one and was losing its old prestige. The twelve mantapams constructed by them on the way to Onnatōnda pallam Nāvalūrru and the endowment of 390 panams as capital for offering 12 vadaipadi each year appear to be the only endowment made by them.

From the above account, it appears that even Sāluva Nārasimha and the members of his family did not make any large cash or jewel endow-

ments. Besides the villages granted by Saluva Narasingarayar, there are numerous instances of endowment in the shape of excavating spring channels to improve the irrigation of the Tiruvidai yāṭṭam villages. The members of his family and Kandadaḷ Ramanuja Ayyangar also have made such improvements. The additional income derived by means of such repairs was applied for such services as are detailed in the respective inscriptions. It was only where the donor had not the facilities to carry out such works himself that payment was made in cash, which was again used by the Sthanattar for improvements and repairs to irrigation works.



CHAPTER XVI.

KANDADAI RAMANUJA AYYANGAR AND SALUVA NARASIMHA.

From the point of view of temple worship in general it is worth-while dwelling at some length on the career of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar who as the trusted lieutenant of Sāluva Narasimhaya made full use of all opportunities to gain distinction. Ramanuja Ayyangar is illustrative of a class of men found among all castes of Hindus even to-day. These men invariably start their career under an honest impulse to serve the cause of temple worship and strive for its furtherance and grandeur. As the years roll on they acquire influence and have generally also to handle some money. As it often happens with men similarly placed, in course of time they succumb to the insidious influence of vanity and personal ambitions. Ramanuja Ayyangar's career in Tirumalai and Tirupati amply illustrates this. His patron Sāluva Narasimha started life as the devoted adherent of the Vijayanagar Empire. He was obviously trusted by Devaraya II, and Mallikarjuna. However owing to the vicissitudes of power politics and in the interests of the Empire, Hindu religion and culture, he had to play the role of the de facto Emperor. Some say he even made himself the de jure Emperor. Whatever that might be, these two ambitious men were brought together.

After the accession of Mallikarjuna to the Vijaya nagar throne, the struggle between him and the Bahmini Kings made it imperative that Sāluva Narasimha should be away from Tirupati in his own interests and in the interests of the Empire. But as a devout (perhaps even superstitious) Hindu and with an inherited attachment to God Tiru vēṅgadamalaiyān, whenever difficulties and doubts faced him he seems to have turned to Him for guidance and protection, resolving at the same time to make votive or thanks offerings. Owing to his long absence from Tirupati he entrusted to Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar the work of giving effect to his grants and offerings. There was also another Srivaishnava in Tirumalai by name Hastigiri Ayyan whom he trusted, who did not however possess the dynamic power of Ramanuja Ayyangar and had therefore to circumscribe his field of activity to the satram (Choultry). How Ramanuja Ayyangar was able to magnify the extent of his influence, how he was able to make even the Sthanattar endow some of the temple lands to him for cultivation and for carrying on some charities in the temple according to his desires and how courtiers made endowments in his name instead of in their own name will now be shown. It will also be shown that after Saluva Narasimha's death the Ayyangars' personal ambition and vanity were openly manifested. About Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar the T T Devasthanam Epigraphist has made certain surmises which seem to be unwarranted and

incorrect In note (3) on page 278 of Vol. III of the inscriptions he surmises that Kandadai Doddappa Ayyangar was probably a member of the collateral branch of the family to which Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar belonged. Doddappa Ayyangar is described in the inscription as belonging to Vādhula-gōtra, Āpasthamba-Sūtra and his father's name is also given In none of the many inscriptions relating to Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar do we find mention of his father's name, his gotra, sutra and sākha It is only a sanyasī who is prohibited from making any reference to his pūrvāsrama pravaram. A sanyasī would describe himself as the disciple of the guru who gave him the Presha mantram and the kāshāyam Ramanuja Ayyangar is described (or prefers to describe himself) as the sisya of Alagiya Manavala Jiyar. We know however that the sisya was a Grihastha Why he did not disclose his parentage, and gōtra is more than we can answer We can see from his life career that he was an ambitious man and overfond of self glorification. It may have stretched to the extent of his desire to be aligned with the three Mudal Alwars, and Tirumalisai whose parentage and pravaram nobody knew, or that of Andal, He was not one of the āchārya purushas or a spiritual teacher as the Epigraphist would make him out to be

His disciple Mādhava Ayyangar is described by the Epigraphist as an āchāryapurusha and the disciple and successor of Ramanuja Ayyangar The

former is described in the original inscription in Tamil as இராமானுஜ அய்யங்கார் பரிசீலனை செய்து கொண்டு இருந்தார். There is nothing in this wording to assume that he was his successor to the Ramanjakutam and Por Bhandaram. Even in III 153 dated 2-4-1522 A.D. he does not style himself the Kartar of the Ramanujakutam but as only one among the managers. There is no reference to the por bhandaram as having been in his charge.

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar was a dēvantari or stranger of Tondaimandalam who after his discipleship under Alagiya Manavala Jiyyar, went on pilgrimage to all the 108 Vaishnavite shrines in the country. He observed in detail how temple worship and the various festivals were carried on in the famous temples of the South. He is said to have done some notable service to the Kānchi puram and the Srirangam temples, as may be gathered from the incomplete memorial tablet on the east wall of the Padikāvali Gōpuram in Tirumalai. In what year he first came to Tirupati is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions. That he must have come in some year immediately preceding the date on which Saluva Narasimha appointed him as the Kartar (or manager) of the Rāmanujakūtams started by him in Tirumalai and Tirupati may however be reasonably presumed. By his earnestness and personal magnetism he seems to have created a very favourable impression on Saluva

Narasimha and thereafter continued to exercise a decided influence over him in all matters relating to the temple so far as his endowments were concerned. His influence seems to have extended to the Sthānattār also. We will therefore do well to examine together everything that was done by Sāluva Narasimha and Kandāḍai Rāmanuja Ayyangar jointly and severally.

Saluva Narasimha's endowments are eight in number. Six of these make direct mention and two indirect mention of him. They range from 1476 to 1473 A.D. although one of them which was gifted in 1472 A.D. was actually incised on stone and given effect to in 1482 A.D. The indirect mention made in inscriptions dated 1484 and 1494 A.D. goes to show that the grants were made much earlier than those dates.

The first inscription (II. 4) which shows the connection between these two men is dated 12-9-1456 A.D. We learn from it that some years earlier Saluva Narasimha had made a sarvamānya grant of Alipuram village situated in Vaikunṭhavalanādu of the Chandrāgiri Rajya to Tīruvēṅgaḍamudaiyān and that he proposed to set apart the svarnādāyam and the dhānyavargam taxes of this village for a daily food offering of twelve Tirupponakam, one Appapadī and one Tīrukkanāmaḍai 'as Udayakāla sandhī; to send the one fourth part of these prasādam representing the donor's share to the Ramanujakutam established by him in Tīrumalai and

Tirupati and to make Kandadai Ramanujayyan the Kartar of these institutions and the agent to see to the feeding of Sri Vaishnavas therein. The inscription shows that the office of Kartar was to descend to his 'Sishya paramparai' or line of disciples. These details are given to show that the credit for establishing the Ramanujakutam is claimed by Saluva Narasimha to be his own. We have to note the termination in the name *Ramanujayyan* in the singular to form a correct impression of the relationship between the employer and the employee, to be Sishyaparamparai Manager and to feed all Sri Vaishnavas going to the Ramanujakutam. The precise Tamil expressions are "தமிழக சமஸ்த திருமலை திருப்பதியில் கடவுள்களே சமஸ்தது கூடத்தக்கு கண்ணக அருமே மணவாள ஜீவ சிஷ்யரான கீதநாந் சிறிமதி நாயக சட்டைய பவணி இரத சமஸ்தது கூடத்தையிலே வெல்லுமகன் அருத செயற்குப பண்ணுமபடிக்கு இரமஸ்துமயான சிஷ்ய பரம பரத சாசிதாதிச்சனா இரத சமஸ்தது கூடத்தக்கு சட்டக்க கடவுளாகும். The T T D Epigraphist seems to have been under the impression that Kandadai Ramanujayyar was the spiritual Guru or Acharyn of Saluva Narasimha. There is nothing in any of the inscriptions to warrant such an assumption. Ramanujayyengar was however a trusted lieutenant and his influence grew as the years rolled on. On 24-3-1467 Saluva Narasimha made another endowment in the name of his queen Srirangāmbādev (II 21) for offering daily 4 Tirupponalams to Tiruvengadamudayan and the donor's share of the prasadam was made over by him to a Sri Vaishnava

named Hastagīrīdāsar, who was maintaining a choultry and also cultivating Saluva Narasimha's flower garden known as Ramanujan Tirunandavanam. During the next year (1468), Sāluva Narasimha made another endowment (II 31) dated 16th march) of the village of Agaram Murukkampattu for offering daily one atirasam and one vadai padi and also for certain other food offerings on the Tirudvādasī day and on the first day of the floating festival. In this case the donor's quarter share was given away to the Ramanuja Kutam founded by Narasimharaya and managed by K Ramanuja ayyangar and his Śiṣhya paramparai. On the same day (15-3-1468), he made yet another and larger endowment (II 34) of five villages Vanjipākkam, Mallimālai, Sērulakkūr, Bhūmapuṇam and Vālālmankondān) for making daily food offerings of 30 sandhis, one appapadi, one sugiyan and one Thukkanāmadai. The donor's quarter share was in this case given away to Hastagīrīdasar. He was also to be given daily 3 panam as mēlvoccham¹. The next recorded endowment (II 50) was on 15-6-1473 and related to the grant of the village of Dommaiapatti for the celebration of a new annual festival to be called Dōla-mahōtsava anna-unjal tirunāl lasting for five days. The total expenditure of rice on prasadam on account of this endowment was about 1500 marakkāls. The donor's quarter share was to go to the Ramanujakutam and all items of expenditure for the festival were left to Ramanujas.

1 Concomitant sundry articles required for feeding pilgrims.

discretion. *All these go to show that Ramanuja Ayyangar had gained considerable influence over Narasimha between 1467 and 1478 A D*

From the above account, we are justified in concluding that Saluva Narasimha did not have a blind faith in Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar and that the latter was only his trusted agent for certain purposes. *The Ayyangar however did not fail to make use of and even magnify that influence for his own purposes*

Kandadai Ramanuja took full advantage of his influence.

On 9-1-1467 he entered into a covenant with the Pallis (II. 24), who were the proprietors of certain lands to excavate irrigation channels therein to cultivate the lands thereby to pay the proprietors a certain agreed rent and to utilise the balance for upkeep of the Ramanujakutam. The arrangement was to hold good in the case of his sishtyaparam parai also. On 25-4-1467 a similar arrangement (II 26) was made by him with the Sthānattār for cultivation of lands in Kōṭṭamangalam village, which belonged to the temple after excavating two channels in it. Here also the quarter share of prasadams was to go to the Ramanujakutam sishtya paramparai. In November 1468 he installed an image of Kulasōkhara Ālvar in Tirupatī (II 36) for whose food offering every day he persuaded the Sthānattar to grant as sarvamanya certain lands in Elamandiyam kūraikkal which was temple pro-

perty. On 20-2-1469 (II. 38) he entered into a similar agreement with the Sthanattar to excavate an irrigation channel for the cultivation of lands in the temple village of Tuvēnkatanallūr, and arranged for offering 4 dadhyodanam taligai daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan at the time of Tirumanjanam. The donor's share was in this case also to go to the Ramanujakutam sishyaparamparai. On 7-1-1470 (II. 44), the Sthanattar gave away to the Ramanujakutam as sarvamanya or tax free certain lands of the temple to the west of Tirupati. This also was to be enjoyed by him and sishyaparamparai. On 4-5-1470 (II. 45) the western half of the temple village of Munnaippūndi was allowed to be cultivated by Ramanuja Ayyangar sishyaparamparai for offering in the name of Sāluva Narasimha some food offering during Kōḍai Tirunal in Tirupati. On 28-12-1470 (II. 47) another such agreement was entered into for irrigation channels to cultivate certain wastelands so as to make an ardhamam offering to Sri Govindaraja.

During all this period it must be noted that Sāluva Narasima was far away from Chandragiri and near Masūlipatam engaged on vital military preparations for the defence of his own territory and of the Vijayanagar Empire. It could have been only by a show of his influence with Sāluva Narasima that the Sthanattar and the others were made to agree to all arrangements proposed by Ramanuja Ayyangar although it must be admitted that they were all in

the interests of the temple and of his Ramanujakutam

The following is an instance of the magnitude of his influence over others — One of the Sri Vaishnavas of Tirupati by name Sathakōpadāsar Narasimhārāya Mudaliar made certain endowments not in his own name but in the name of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar. These are 5500 panams (II 64) on 30-12-1475 1500 panams (II 67) on 9-5-1476 and 5200 panams (II 68) on 23-1-1476. The first one is for offering one atirasappadi daily to Sri Govindaraja Swami the second for one Tirupponakam daily to Udayavar and the third for the celebration of a number of Sattumurais of Ālvārs. In all these cases the donors share went to the Ramanujakutam sishyaparamparai. The last named endowment is of special interest to us. This is the first time that the birth stars or Tirunakshatrams of all the Ālvārs happen to be celebrated in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine in Tirumalai accompanied by the recitation of the portion of the prabandham of each Ālvār. It was an innovation which if it had been attempted in Sathakōpadāsar's own name would have met with opposition from the Vaikhanasa Archakas and the Sthannattar. But these men dared not go against Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar. The Dasars' zeal to have his heart's desire accomplished brought Kandadai Ramanujas name into the endowment. That Sathakōpadāsar was a fervent Sri Vaishnava can be seen from other special endowments he made for Udayavar and Tirumangai Ālvar temples in

ATTITUDE OF OTHER DONORS

Tirupati His endowment (II 68) dated 23-11-1476 has the further interest to us that it was on that date that the Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas appear to have commenced sharing with the Sāttina Śrī Vaiṣṇavas the privilege of reciting the Prabandhams in front of Śrī Ramanuṣa's Shrine and of receiving their own share of the prasadam as emoluments. *Without Kandadaṭṭa Ramanuṣa Ayyangar's influence, it would have been well nigh impossible for the Dasar to make these two innovations in Temple practices.*

In every one of the above instances, one point was made clear that the donor's share of the prasadam was to be enjoyed by Ramanuṣa Ayyangar's śiṣhyas in the Ramanuṣa kutam after his lifetime. The sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were exclusively his disciples. There is no evidence of his having had any Brahmin disciples.

The attitude of other donors.

So far we have seen that Kandadaṭṭa Ramanuṣa Ayyangar was successful in making his influence with Saluva Narasiṃha recognised by the Sthanattar and by Sathakōpadasar. But during this period there were also other notables, who made endowments for food offerings. It is worthwhile and even necessary, to find out whether they extended their patronage to Ramanuṣa Ayyangar.

Most of them were Sāluva Narasiṃha's kith and kin and in the usual course would have been expected to patronise the Ramanuṣakutam which their kinsman and chief had brought into being. That

they did not patronise the Ramanujakutam will be plain from a reading of the note attached (at the end of this chapter) If Saluva Narasimha gave 10½ prasadam daily to the Ramanujakutam, he gave to Hastigiri Dasar's Satram 20 prasadam (including 1 by his queen) The total prasadam distributed daily in places outside the Ramanujakutam amounted to 34 prasadam by the end of 1494 whereas in the Ramanujakutam it was 15½ The latter seems to have been mainly for the benefit of Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas whereas the others catered to all irrespective of caste or creed But the bulk of the income for the Ramanujakutam must have been by the sale of appam, atirasam, vadai, etc., which it got during the various festivals as Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar himself has shown later¹ *Saluva Narasimharayar's interest seems to have slackened after about 1478 A D* He probably realised that the Ramanujakutam was not fulfilling his expectations

There was really far too much food cooked in the temple than was needed to feed the pilgrims So we find that more of baked and fried prasadam such as appams, atirasams vadai, Tirukkanamadai and such other things as could be preserved for a longer period for sale and as could be taken by the pilgrims to their home as God's prasadam came into vogue By the sale of these the Ramanujakutam made money and also those in the temple service who were entitled to a share in the offered

¹ II 1494 A D.

prasadam From the point of view of the religious sentiments which the temple was intended to spread it is doubtful if this development was healthy

Whether this institution, known as Ramanujakūṭam, founded by Sāluva Narasimha Dēvarayar for the benefit and uplift of the Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas stood the test of time and made itself appreciated by the public could best be judged by its life after the death of Ramanuja Ayyangar and Saluva Narasimha. We have reason to believe that even in their life time it was not patronised by the majority of temple goers who made endowments

Udiyam Ellappa Nāyakkar who made an endowment of three villages (III. 109 ; 2-6-1516) as Kṛishnadevaraya's dharmam stipulated that the quarter share of prasadam due to him should be delivered to the Ramanujakutam This coming within about 22 years of the last mention of Saluva's Ramanujakutam might be taken to refer to Saluva's institution or it might refer to Ramānāyakkar's Ramanujakutam (III 88 of 1514.A.D) The next mention is in 1520 when Kandada Madhava Ayyangar, the disciple of Ramanuja Ayyangar apportioned to the Ramanujakutam only a portion of the donor's quarter share after deducting the share allotted to the Iyal chanting Śrī Viṣṇavas (III 142 ; 28-11-1520)

Subuddhi Rāmadāsar allotted 3 nālī of prasadam to the managers of the Ramanujakutam who were cultivating his flower garden We may presume that Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas were cultivating his

flower garden (III 147, 1-11-1521) Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar (presumably the son of the late Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar) who styled himself kartar of Tirumalai Tirupati Ramanuja kutam and the Por Bhandaram, stipulated that the quarter share of prasadams due to him on his endowment (IV 3) dated 41-3-1530 should be delivered to the Dharmakarta of the Ramanujakutam. The implication seems to be that he had appointed some one else to be the Dharmakarta himself being the Kartar.

The word Ramanujakutam occurs incidentally and for the last time in an inscription V 47 dated 3-7-1545. Whether it refers to Ramanuja Ayyangar's institution or to the other Ramanujakutam of Ramanayakkar (already referred to) mentioned in connection with an endowment by Periya Obai-Nayakkar Ramanayakkar on 8-1-1514 we cannot be sure of. But as the donor Tallapakkm Tirumalai ayyangar offered one padai in front of the Ramanujakutam it might refer to Ramanuja ayyangar's Ramanujakutam.

There is therefore reason to believe that the institution founded by Saluva Narayana and managed by Ramanuja was not popular and that it did not fulfil its purpose. It ceased to exist in the second half of the sixteenth century. So much space has been devoted to this subject so that any one who cares to speculate may form his own ideas as to how the Sattada Sri Vaishnavas who were drawn from all classes of the non brahmins and specially trained by

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar obviously at the instance of Saluva Narasimha for religious duties, who were accorded the privilege of providing every day the articles of perfumery for the Tirumanjanam and Tiruvārāadhanam of Tiruvēngadamudaiyān, and receiving in return the daily honours and emoluments due to such service; who also enjoyed the privilege of reciting the Alvar's Prabandhams in the temples on a footing of equality with the Sāttina Srivaishnavas and received a share of the emoluments, and who were so well provided for with endowments by the King himself in the Ramanujakutam, failed to retain what all was theirs by right. That perfumery, which it was their right to supply, is now being taken by Brahmins with all temple honours round the pradakshinam before being presented in the shrine. They failed to become the successors of Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar as Kartar of the Ramanujakutam. They were his sishtyas and should have been the kartars of the Ramanujakutam and the Por-Bhandaram in preference to Kandadai Madhava Ayyangar. They should have been allowed to recite Prabandham in Gōshti.

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar's activities in the temple after the death of Saluva Narasimha possibly throw some light on how the Sāttāda Śiī Vaishnavas went into oblivion. Saluva Narasimha seems to have died in 1492 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Immadi Narasimha.

Kandadai Ramanuja's activities after the death of Saluva Narasimha.

Ramanuja Ayyangar was obviously not content with being the Manager of the Ramanujakutam distributing food and selling appams and atirasams. In the secular administration of the temples the management of landed properties and the construction and repairs of buildings had already become a separate department called the Tiruppani Bhandaram. There was still in the hands of the Sthanattar the treasury of gold, silver jewellery, costly silks etc. Some of these required annual repairs. Ramanuja Ayyangar projected a plan for carrying out these repairs without a single panam being expended from the Sri Bhandaram. He placed before the Emperor Immadi Narasimha Rayar his scheme. Every year he could save 1000 panams from the sale amount of prasadams in the Ramanujakutams. He could save another 1000 panams from out of the income from endowments made for Kulasekhara Alvar temple after conducting the daily worship. Also from certain other villages granted for specific services he could scrape another 1000 panams. With these 3000 panams he would be carrying out yearly all the repairs needed. The Rayasam was obtained from the Lump for appointing Ramanuja Ayyangar as the kartar of gold and jewellery (which office he later called Per Bhandaram) Sishvaparamparai. This (11 133) was on 1st July 1195 A.D. All articles which needed repairs were to be looked conjointly with the

Sthanattar, the repairs carried out in their presence and returned to them after due accounting. If 3000 panams were found insufficient for the purpose, the balance was to be met from the temple funds.

In the very next month of the same year (31-8-1495) he made an endowment (II 134) not in cash, but by way of certain adjustments for celebrating some festivals. The note-worthy point in this endowment is that he himself made a provision of 20 panams for tying parivaṭṭam to four dancing girls (Emperumānādiyar) who were engaged for singing the Ula songs in praise of himself on occasions when Śrī Malai Kuniyanāra perumāḷ and Śrī Govindarajan were taken out in procession (or stroll) round the Sanctum during Kōḍai Festival. If he was a highly respected person, his own Sāttāda Śrī Vaishnava disciples and the Brahmins reciting Prabandham would have agreed to sing these songs just as they do Ramanuja Nūrrandadi and Vāḷi tirunāmams. The singing of such songs in his praise by dancing girls in the presence of the Deity and himself making payment therefore would have been highly distasteful to all religiously minded Śrī Vaishnavas. Furthermore his cousin Kandadai Appachchiyar Anna made an endowment (II 136; 21-12-1496) for offering 2 atirasappadi on every alternate pulugukkāppu murai Friday just after the singing of Ramanuja Ayyangar's Ula while Śrī Venkateswara was being smeared with Pulugukkappu. Again in another endowment made by

K Ramanuja Ayyangar after he became Por Bhandaram Officer (II 140 the precise date of the endowment is missing in the inscription) he celebrated his annual birth star in a manner which must have been revolting to all orthodox Sri Vaishnavas To receive the appapadi sent down from Tirumalai for the occasion he made Sri *Andal* being taken in procession to the foot of the hill in Tirupati and to accompany the appapadi and parivattam procession to Goviodaraja's temple Even his own disciples, the Sattada Sri Vaishnavas do not appear to have shown their enthusiasm or loyalty to him in these celebrations which were introduced after the death of Saluva Narasimha Did he not sell away the prasadams which Saluva Narasimha intended for their exclusive benefit so that he might become the Por Bhandaram officer?

When it came to the appointment of a Sishya (Disciple) as his successor, as Kartar of the Ramanujakutam and of the Por Bhandaram he did not find after forty years tutelage a Sattada Srivaishnavan to be fit for selection Kandadai Madhava Ayyangar (possibly a cousin of his) was appointed He was succeeded by Kumara Ramanuja the son of Ramanuja so the stipulation sishya paramparai gave place to Vainya paramparai

Note on the disposal of the donor's share of prasadams
by members of the Saluva family

We have seen that Saluva Narasimha when ordered the handing over of the donor's share of

DISPOSAL OF THE DONOR'S SHARES

her own endowments to the satram under the management of Hastigiri Ayyan and that Saluva Narasimha also gave away the major portion of his share for the same Saluva Ramachandrayya arranged that the donor's share of his own endowment (one fourth of four taligas) should be distributed to pilgrims during the Sandhi Adaippu in the temple itself

Prasadams.

Saluva Mallayyadeva Maharaja did the
same, .. . 1

Saluva Parvataraja distributed his share among those maintaining his flower garden and the water shed at Muḷankāl murippan mantapam constructed by him; 1

Saluva Timmaraja gave his share to the
Dāsanambi cultivating his flower garden ; ... 1

Siddhanayar (Saluva Narasimha's Secretary) did not give anything to Ramanujakutam, 11

Saluva Timmaraja expended his share during Sandhi Adaippu. So also Ahōbīladeva Kampayadeva Maharaja; $\frac{1}{4}$

Timmayyadeva Chola Maharaja also distributed his share during Sandhi Adaippu (full); 1

Erramaraja gave his share to the Dasanambis cultivating flower gardens, ... ½

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Timmayyadeva Maharaja of Bijavada gave his share to the Sri Vaishnavas tending his flower garden ,

Vallabhayya dēva Maharaja gave his share to Tiruppani Bhandarattar 2

Ravu Pinna Bhupala Narasimha and Kesaya Nayaka gave their share to their ācharya Kumāra Tātayyengar , 1

Kommaraja Siru Timmaraja Udaiyar gave part of his share to Sthanattar and part for free distribution and to those tending his flower garden

Baichraja Timmayyadeva Maharaja gave his share to nirvaham in part and for Sandhi Adaippu distribution

Kommaraja Siru Timmaraja Udaiyar gave part to Nirvaham and part to flower garden keepers

Kommaraju Periya Timmaraja Udaiyar for Tirunandavanam Sandhi Adaippu and Nirvaham 1

Lakshmi amman gave for Sandhi Adaippu and flower garden cultivators 1

Periya Timmaraja Udaiyar gave 500 kuli of land as sarvamanya for feeding 12 Sri Vaishnavas to Ramanuja Iyengar and 1 share Tirupattiyar Sabhaiyar Desantries and Tiru ninra ur udaiyar garden cultivators etc 1

DISPOSAL OF THE DONOR'S SHARES

Narasaraja Udaiyar likewise to Tirupati-
 yar Sabhaiyar, desantries, etc

It will thus be seen that most of the
 dignitaries do not seem to have appreciated
 the Ramanujakutam, if not its management
 by Ramanuja Ayyangar. Queen Sman-
 gambadevi gave her share to Hastigiridasar's
 choultry, 1

Timmayyadeva Maharaja gave his $\frac{1}{4}$ share
 to Sri Vaishnavas looking after flower garden; $\frac{1}{4}$

Sundry endowments, $2\frac{1}{4}$

34

The prasadams made over to the Ramanuja
 Kutam from 1456 to 1473 amounted only to 13 pra-
 sadams excluding $10\frac{1}{2}$ given by Saluva Narasimha
 and $2\frac{1}{4}$ more in 1494.



CHAPTER—XVII

THE PERIOD FROM ABOUT 1492 TO 1511 A.D (Immadi Narasimharaya and Vira Narasimha Maharaya.)

It is generally believed that Saluva Narasimha Maharayar died in the year 1492 A.D. and that his son Immadi Narasimha succeeded him and ruled till about the middle of 1505 A.D. With him the Saluva ascendancy came to an end. Narasa Nāyaka the Commander-in-Chief and Chief Minister under Saluva Narasimha, had been the de-facto ruler even when Immadi Narasimha Maharayar was the ruler. But he seems to have predeceased Immadi Narasimha. We are told by historians that his son Vira Narasimha usurped the Imperial Throne on the death of Immadi Narasimha some time in 1505 A.D. and that he ruled as Emperor till his death in 1509 A.D.

Saluva Narasimha as well as his son Immadi Narasimha had the suffix Maharayar attached to their names. But the prasaṁśa (pedigree) prefixed to their name was not that of the Vijayanagar Kings which was Śrīman Mahārājadhīraja Rājaparaṁśa svayaṁ Śrī Virapratapa. They preferred to retain their own family pedigree Śrīman Mahāmandala svayaṁ Mādini Mīśaraganda Kāṣṭhārī Saluva Saluva. Neither of these therefore could have had succession legally as representing a branch of the old Sangama

family. But not so Vira Narasimha. In one of our inscriptions III. 13 of the year 1508 A.D. (Saka 1430) he is described as Vira Narasimha Mahārāyar. There is no other inscription where his name appears. But we know that he was a more powerful man than Immadi Narasimha and that during the short period he was on the throne he was fully engaged in putting down insurgents within the Empire. He claimed (at any rate his brother Śrī Viṇaiṇṇatapa Kṛṣṇadēvaraya did) kinship with the old Sangama line of kings as will be shown later when writing about Śrī Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya.

So far as the history of the Tiruvēṅgadam temple is concerned the period of these two Emperors (1492-1509 A.D.)—we may even say the period from about 1492 to 1511 A.D.—has a special significance. The activities of Śrī Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar had brought into the temple some undesirable innovations as well as some beneficial changes. But none of these took permanent root. The latter are

(1) the status accorded to the Sāttāda Śrī Vaiṣṇavas by giving them the privilege of supplying certain articles of perfumery required every day for the Alagappirānāi Tirumanjanam (or daily Abhiśhēkam for Bhōga Srinivasa)

(2) the status accorded to them by authorising them to recite the prabandhams in front of Śrī Ramanuja's shrine in Tirumalai in company with the Brahmins and also to receive prasādams

The undesirable ones are given below.

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(1) It has been pointed out that after the death of Sāluva⁴ Narasimha the prasādams representing the donor's share which used to be fully utilised for the benefit of the Sāttada Srivaishnavas were diverted in part in 1494 A.D. by Ramanuja Ayyangar to enable him to become the Por Bhandāram (*பொது பண்டாரம்*) officer in Tirumalai

(2) the employment of Emporumānadiyars (dancing girls) for singing ula songs in praise of Sri Ramanuja Ayyangar for which parivaṭṭam (piece of sacred cloth) was tied to their head on payment of the necessary fee to the temple (IL 134 1495 A.D. and IL 136 1496 A.D.) This innovation was however not continued after his death

3) Taking Sri Andal to the foot of the Hill to receive Tiruvengadamudaiyan's *appa prasadam* and *parivaṭṭam* in honour of Ramanuja Ayyangar's birth day. This also was not continued after his death (IL 110 date missing)

4) The institution of a special festival (called Naval ugru *நவா உழு*) after he became the Por bhandaramdar in 1496 A.D. (IL 135). In connection with this festival he introduced an elaborate system of making cash payments under the heading *Tirul kairuḷakṛum* to all the members of the temple establishment from the Sthānattar down to the sweepers. The object in doing this appears to have been to include his own name in the establishment as the Por Bhandaram officer. But as this was likely to raise some opposition, he included in the list the

Tiruppaṇi Bhaṇḍāyam, the dancing girls, the nattuvars and the prabandham reciters. This inclusion of Prabandham as being entitled to receive cash payment under the appellation Tirukkaivalakkam marks the beginning of the attempt of Sri Vaishnavas to achieve for the Prabandham of the ālvārs a permanent status in the Temple. In 1504 there appears a jīyar by name Anusandhanam Tiruvenkatayyan. He obtained for Prabandham a permanent status in 1512. The history of the Prabandham will be dealt with in the chapter, Alvars and Acharyas. The only persons who were omitted in the list were the Vēdapārāyanam reciters whom Sri Virapratapa Devaraya had with so much enthusiasm introduced in 1433 A.D. In the Dōla Mahōtsavam introduced by Saluva Narasimha and conducted under Sri Ramanuja Ayyangar's supervision, there was incurred a lump sum expenditure of 896 panams under Tirukkaivalakkam. The details of distribution were not given. We find however that in similar expenditure incurred in connection with the Pavitrōtsavam by Mallayya Dēva Maharaya (1464 A.D.) payments were made only to the Purana Bhattar and the Vedaparayanam reciters and that nothing was given to the Sthanattar, the prabandham reciters or the dancing girls. Again later in 1508 A.D. we find that one Appa Pillai instituted Dōla Mahōtsavam for Sri Govindarajaswami in Tirupati as the dharmam of Sri Vira Narasimha Maharayar and that in connection with this utsavam many of the items of cash payments started by Kandadai

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Ramanuja Ayyangar were continued by him, the only omissions made being the Tiruppari Bhandarattar the Por Bhandarattar and the Prabandham reciters. The Vēdaparāyanam reciters were however brought in by him and the dancing girls (Tiruvidhisanis) were given a larger share.¹

We are therefore in a position to surmise that the precedent set up by Sri Ramanuja Ayyangar did not appeal in full even to the people who were more or less his contemporaries. *Some seem to have favoured Vēda pārāyanam and some the Prabandham. But the dancing girls whom Sri Ramanuja Ayyangar brought into prominence began to acquire increasing importance in the temple as we will have occasion to notice in greater detail when we come to deal with the reign of Achyuta deva and Sadasiva Deva Maharayas.* It is probable that these innovations would not have been made if Saluva Narasimha and his successors had lived in times of peace and had the leisure to pay some personal attention to the affairs of this temple to which they had a great attachment.

(5) The Sthanattars complicity in the alienation of Temple lands to Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyan

¹ For a single day festival in 146 A.D. the Sthanattars were paid 10 panams each for the 12 Nivahams, 22 panams for 41 verses, 3 panams each for 6 Naladai Ramanuja Ayyangar and the Tiruppari till 1340 A.D. 4 panams for the 12 Nivahams and 12 panams each for the 41 verses and 12 panams for the 6 Naladai Ramanuja Ayyangar. For the 4 days festival in 1509 A.D. Appapillai however paid only 24 panams for the 12 Nivahams, 12 panams for the 41 verses and 12 panams for the 6 Naladai Ramanuja Ayyangar. The 12 Nivahams were paid for 12 panams each, the 41 verses for 4 panams each and the 6 Naladai Ramanuja Ayyangar for 12 panams each.

STHANATTAR'S IMPORTANCE ON THE DECLINE

gar ostensibly for the benefit of Saluva's Ramanujakutam and the temple of Kulasēkhara Ālvār and the subsequent shufflings of the income from these lands which enabled him to create and occupy the office of Por Bhandaram has already been noticed. There is reason to think that the Sthanattar suffered in reputation in consequence of these transactions. We see this reflected in the endowments made by the public after 1494 A D. The members of the mercantile community in Tirupati and Chandragiri represented by Saranusetti, Sittanna Setti, Tippu Setti and Lingi Setti who were donors during the period however gave away the donors' share of the prasadams to the 12 nīrvāham of the Sthanattars as usual. They would naturally have been looking to them for getting orders for supply of provisions to the temple. Ramayyan, son of the late Saṭhākōpadāsar also continued to be loyal to the Sthanattar till 1507. But in his endowment made in 1508 he received the donor's share himself. Uddanda Rāyan Ulagappan and Appa Pillai, two of the independent persons who have made several endowments during this period, appropriated to themselves the donor's share. Again Periya Ōbala Nāyakkar Rāmānāyakkar, who was one of the Emperor's generals, assigned his share of the prasadams to a new Ramanujakūtaṁ established by him without giving any portion to the Sthanattar. There are also three other private endowments (II 124, 126, 127) where the donors distributed their share among the Tirupatiyāis, the Sabhaiyārs and

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the Tirumira ur Udaiyars exoluding the Nambi
mars and the Jiyara. *These indicate that the
Sthanattar as such were losing credit*

The above analysis has been made so that we
may correctly appreciate why Sri Vira Krishna
Deva Maharaya ignored the claims of the Sthanat-
tar and of Kandadai Ramauja Ayyangar & Rama-
nujakutam when he came to dispose of the donor's
share of his own endowments

In this place we may describe the new festival
called Navalūrgu (*నావలూర్గు*) introduced by Kandadai
Ramanuja Ayyangar. Sri Ayyangar constructed a
tank and a mantapam on the way to the Nāvalūrgu
or spring channel in a tank called Tirumānēri. The
processional Deity Malakunlya nira Perumal with
the Nachchimar was taken to that mantapam on the
tenth day of the Panguni Tirunal called the Pushpa-
vagam day. The place seems to have been situated
at some considerable distance from the temple.
Twelve mantapams were therefore constructed along
the route at the rate of one by each of the twelve
niravalams. At every mantapam food offerings
were made on the return journey. The entire temple
paraphernalia seems to have accompanied the Deity
to the Navalūrgu. We have festivals of this kind
in almost all the temples in Southern India. At
the fountain head of the spring channel a pavilion
is usually put up to accommodate the Deity. The
spring channel itself is made expansive so that by
night there may be a slow procession known as

Patti Ulāvudal (பத்தி உலாவுதல்) to the accompaniment of music and dancing by the Emperumanadīyars. The festival is commonly known as Ūral Festival. In Tīrumalai we hear of this festival for the first time in August 1496 A D, but it may have been in vogue even earlier. Almost all the festivals started by K. Ramanujayyengar after the death of Saluva Narasimha are of a type which would induce lasciviousness in weak minded worshippers, what with the dancing and abhinayan of the emperumānāḍīyars and the scents, flowers and rich food on a full moon day.

The varieties of prasadams prepared in connection with the festivals during this period were about the same as were prepared during the reign of Saluva Narasimha. These were Tīruppōnakam, Rājāna Tīruppōnakkam, Paruppaviyal Tīruppōnakam, Dadhyōdanam, Appam, Aṭirasam, Sukhīyan, Godhi, Sīdai and Vaḍai.

Acharyapurushas.

We shall next examine the activities of the Acharyapurushas attached to the temple. These seem to have been carrying on their evangelical work. Some of their more prosperous disciples were making pilgrimage to Tīruvengadam. Among the Āchāryapurushas the brothers, Tōlappar and Kumāra Tāttayyengar, sons of Sottai Tīrumalai Nambi Tīruvēnkata Tāttayangar appear prominently. Both have made fairly large endowments in addition to what their disciples have done. Kumara Tattayyan-

gar seems to have been held in great esteem by his disciples. The Tiru nindra ur udaiyars stipulated in their endowment deeds that a part of the donors share of the prasadams should be delivered in their acharyas Tirumāligai (or houses). The social etiquette of those days would however have made it impossible for an acharyapurusha to be one of the Sthanattar of the temple. Their work was more evangelical in character.

A point of some importance is made clear by the inscription relating to Kumara Tattayyngars endowment of Rs 3500/- in the year 1493. We learn therefrom that he constructed a mantapam at the south west corner of the outer prakaram of the Tirumalai Temple where the Utsava Murti during procession in connection with the Adhivvanotsavam the Kodai Tirunal etc. was to alight. The Iyrtuvakkanni (or commencement of the recital of the Prabandham) used to take place in front of this mantapam. This is another attempt of the Sri Vaishnavas to obtain for the recital of the Prabandham a permanent status or usage. We have previously noticed an inscription dated 1360 A D which stated that the Prabandham was recited in front of the main gate of the temple. So between 1360 and 1493 A D a development had taken place and the starting point of the Iyrt had been definitely fixed as Kumara Tattayyngars mantapam. Within the walls of the temple it is clear that there was no recital of the Prabandham at any time.

In regard to the commencement of the Veda recital there does not appear to have been any definite rule.

The relationship which generally subsisted between the Acharyapurusha and his disciple can be understood by a reference to the prasasti given in II 58 and II 60 to the brothers Rāvu Pinna Bhūpāla Nṛsimha Naranāyaka and Rāvu Pinna Bhūpāla Kēsanāyaka. The prasasti in Sanskrit could not have been composed by the Tiruninra-urudaiyar who invariably composed the material portion of the text of every inscription in Tamil. No other person in Tirupati would have been interested in extolling the prowess, achievements and virtues of these two men than their Acharya Sri Kumāra Tāttayyangar. Exaggeration in such matters seems to have been consistent with the dignity as an Acharyapurusha.



CHAPTER XVIII

THE TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE AND SRI VIRAPRATAPA VIRA KRISHNA DEVA MAHARAYA 1509-1530 A.D

There was a distinct change in the character of the administration of the temple soon after Sri Kriehnadeva ascended the Vijayanagar throne. To apprise it correctly we must have an idea of the man his religious beliefs as revealed in our inscriptions and how he dealt with those who were conducting the secular and the religious affairs of the temple.

He was well known for his accomplishments as a man of letters, a lover of fine arts and a patron of poets and artists even before he sat on the throne. There is a story that his predecessor and elder brother with a view to making the throne secure for his young son ordered his minister Sāluva Timmarasu to put out the eyes of Krishna Devaraya and thus incapacitate him for life but that Timmarasu allowed him to escape from this calamity as he thought it was in the best interests of the Empire and Hindu religion and culture that he should become the King. Whether for his part Krishna Deva was responsible for the death or disappearance of his brother's sons no one can definitely say. Perhaps the only one who may have known the truth was Sāluva Timmarasu. Our inscriptions reveal that the great minister was

KRISHNADEVA'S RELATIVES

reduced to the plight of selling to Tāllapākkam Tirumalai Ayyangar the donor's share of the prasā-dams which as a large donor he was receiving. He must have fallen on evil days. Other wise he would not have done so. But this was done when Sri Vīnapratāpa Achyuta dēva Maharaya was the Emperor. The story is that Timmarasu was suspected of complicity in a plot which brought about the untimely death of Krishna's young son about the year 1525 A.D. and that eventually Timmarasu was removed from office and lost royal favour. In February 1536 he first sold to Tirumalai ayyangar the donor's share of prasādams due to his brother Govindaraja (donor), then he sold to the same gentleman the prasādams due to his brother and himself and lastly he sold his own share of the prasādams due to him as donor. The last act exposed in all nakedness the misery to which he had sunk. Within a fortnight thereafter Achyutarayar came to his rescue and instituted an endowment, the quarter share thereof being ordered to be delivered to Timmarasu's son-in-law Appayya (IV 89. 12-1-1537). During Krishnadeva's reign we do not find that he ever allowed any of his near relatives to occupy any place of importance or influence in the Empire. The story goes that Achyuta and his brother were kept in detention in the Chandiagiri Fort. He seems to have known well what amount of mischief palace intrigues can do and therefore probably preferred to take no risks. Historians seem to be unanimously of the view that he was just and even generous. He

was at the same time feared by everybody. But he seems to have always been suspicious of the intentions and motives of those who tried to ingratiate themselves into his favour. We can reasonably infer this from the fact that two of his high placed officers Appa Pillai and Saluva Govindaraya who made endowments as the dharmam of Sri Krishna deva in 1511 and 1522 A.D. respectively, disappear from our view thereafter. In fact Sāluva Govindaraya like his brother the great minister Saluva Timmarasu, was reduced to the condition of selling away to Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar the quarter share of the prasādams due to him as donor.

During Krishnadēvaraya's visits to Tirumalai his party seems to have consisted of only his two queens, his two purohīts Ranga Dikshitar and Siva Dikshitar his ūḍigam servant Bagūrī Mallarasu his secretary (rāyasam) and engraver Sripati son of Peddayyāsāri. In all the inscriptions relating to his gifts and endowments his prasasti is given in full. In the endowments made by his personal servants like Ekkāḍi Timmamman and his door keepers Narasayya and Timmayya also the full prasasti is inscribed. But all his officers and the Sthānattar avoid perhaps deliberately making any reference to his regnal year. It is likely that they considered it the safest course.

KRISHNA DEVARAYA'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Krishnadevaraya was as has already been stated a great patron of arts and literature. He is credited

THE DEITIES KRISHNADEVA WORSHIPPED

with having held assemblies of poets and pundits during the Vasanta Ritu every year in Vijayanagar and to have rewarded them according to merit. His admiration for *Allasāni Peddanna's* attainments were according to stories which are still credited so great that he offered to be the foremost bearer of the palanquin in a procession held to honour the great poet. But it has nowhere been said that he attracted great philosophers to his court, or that he paid his obeisance to any āchārya or saint, although all great Hindu Kings have generally done so. Sivaji is for instance, said to have placed his whole kingdom at the feet of his 'guru and to have received it back with blessings to administer in strict accordance with Hindu Dharma. Hindu Kings have from ancient times also tried to emulate as their ideal the court of Janaka, King of the Videhas, where periodical discussions took place between Yagnavalkya, the Saint and others. But Krishna Deva's tastes seem to have been confined to arts and literature. We however gather from our inscriptions that although he desired to propitiate other Deities like Kālahastīswara, the Supreme Deity in whom he had the greatest faith was Tiruvengatanātha. Therefore on important and critical occasions, he first propitiated Tiruvengatanatha and then rode off to Kalahasti also to worship the God there. The Deity of Sri Govindarajaswami in Tirupati did not evidently attract him as he did not pay even a single visit to His temple. Tirumalai and Kalahasti were not however the only shrines

visited by him. He visited several of the celebrated temples in Southern India, made gifts at each place bathed in the sea at Rameswaram and washed his blood-stained sword in its waters believing obviously that he was thus washing away all his sins. He seems to have been by training a firm believer in the Karma Kānda of the Vedas. The Gnāna Mārga and the Bhakti Mārga do not seem to have been studied or practised by him. His much admired poet laureate *Allasāni Peddanna* was a great Sri Vaishnava and Bhakta. He was the famous disciple of the Saint Adī Van Saṭagōpaswami who founded the Ahōbila Maṭham. But *Peddanna's* poetry alone seems to have commanded the admiration of Krishna-devaraya. It may however be asked whether he did not write the Telugu Kāvya Amuktamālyada. The answer to this is that it is not definitely established that he wrote it and that it is held by some that the real author of it was Peddana. Nevertheless unless Krishna Dēva considered that he could conscientiously subscribe to the tenets of Sri Vaishnavism he could not have written or agreed to father the work. It is however a fact that he had no Sri Vaishnava acharya or purōhit to initiate him into the *Sampradāya* peculiar to that sect. This is noticeable from Vol III inscription No 65, which gives his genealogy. The text of it with the exception of the first verse and a slight alteration in the second verse is a copy of what appears on a stone tablet in the Pompapati Temple in Hampi dated Magha Suddha 14 Sakha 1430. In that inscription the first verse

is in adoration of Sambhu and the second is in adoration of Ganēsa. It is stated there that Ganēsa is worshipped even by Hari (Harinā'pī cha pūjyātē). In our inscription the adoration is addressed to (Sri) Varāha, the līlavatar of Hari. This is because Tirumalai is considered to be Varāhakshētram, and not Vēṅkatēsa Kshetram. But the second verse is addressed to Ganēsa and not to Vishvaksēna. A Sri Vaishnava would naturally propitiate the latter. There is however a slight alteration by the substitution for the words "Harina-pīcha pūjyate", of the words "Pancha-yenāpī lālītam", which means that Ganesa is being caressed or fondled by Panchasya (Śiva). If there had been a Vaishnava, not necessarily a Sri Vaishnava, in Krishnadēvaraya's entourage, the second sloka would undoubtedly have been dedicated to Vishvaksēna.

One other feature which distinguishes Krishnadeva from his successor is his omission to end the inscription relating to his endowments with the usual charge 'Sri Vaishnava Rakshaḥ'. We are not here referring to gifts of Tiruvabharanam, but only to the endowments for performance of puja, festivals and other charities in a Vishnu Temple. It was Sāmavai who started in 966 A.D. the practice of ending the endowment with this charge. The practice was followed by others except in the case of gifts of ornaments, (Tiruvabharanam). Vīra Narasiṅga Yādavarāya adhered to it. Srīranganaṭha Yādavaraya used the same terminology. But when we come to the Vijayanagar Kings we do not

find the practice followed which would go to show that they were not initiated into the Sri Vaishnava āchāra properly Devaraya Maharaya simply ends his inscription with the words 'This is the dharma Sāsanam' (L. 192, 5-12-1429 கீதவசம் சாஸ்திரம் சம்ஸ்காசனம்) Bukkarāya the first of the Vijayanagar Kings, ended with the following admonition in Tamil

இத தம்மதத்து துரோகம் பண்ணினவன் கண்ணக்
கலாயிலே காரம் பண்ண கொஞ்சுன பாவத்தைப்
பெறக்கடவான்

வூசித்தாரி கீருண்புண்படி வாசித்தாதுபாலனடி !
வாசித்தா வமாரோண வூசித்தம் தீவூழ்ந்தோலே !

(I 178, p 167)

(Whoever frustrates this charity shall beget the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganga To preserve a charity endowed by others is twice as meritorious as instituting a new one misappropriation of others gifts nullifies the benefits of ones own gifts)

Krishna Devaraya s imprecations are worse he holds out the curse of incurring the sin of killing ones parents and Brahmins. His queen Tirumala devi uses more persuasive language She says

Dana Pālanayor madhye dānāt srōyō nupālanam
Danāt svargamavapnōti pālanat nchyutam padam
(By making a gift one attains svarga But by preserving (the charity already in existence) one attains the state of immortality, (Achyutam)

But the Samavai went further and said the feet of those who protect this charity I place on my

head" (I 8)—no threats, no imprecations and no persuasions were used by her. She had full faith that there will be real Bhaktas at all times in this world to protect religious trusts.

We cannot however belittle the fact that Kṛṣṇadevaraya's gifts are incomparably large and costly; but as a devotee he was half-baked. He sought no guru and no one came forward to initiate him, because he was not spiritually right minded for the guru to take Kṛṣṇadeva into his charge.

The language used in our inscriptions relating to endowments for food offerings and similar services to the deity deserves special study. We will first take up one of Kṛṣṇadeva Raya's endowments (III 65) and compare it with others. We select this inscription because it gives his ancestry both mythical and historical. The text of this must have had his approval. Mythically his ancestor is claimed to be Turvasu, the younger brother of Yadu of the lunar race. Yadu is the latest mythical ancestor claimed by the Vijayanagara rulers of the Sangama line. Kṛṣṇa Deva's kinship with Turvasu is therefore evidently claimed to show that neither Vīra Narasiṃha nor Kṛṣṇa Deva Raya were usurpers. Historically the two brothers were aware of the names of only their father, grand-father and great grand-father of Tuluva origin. The inscription credits Vīra Narasiṃha with having made valuable gifts at all imaginable sacred places in India including Vēṅkatādri. We have however no

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inscription showing any of his gifts made in Tirumalai Krishna Devaraya's greatness alone is dealt with at length. Coming to the object of the inscription namely the charity we find that it is worded as follows కృష్ణ దేవరాయ పాపహరాయ వేంకటేశ్వరాయ శాసనం నవాపాయ శ్రీనివాసాయ దత్తమిదం ధర్మ శాసనమ్ ' Krishna Deva Maharaya's Dharmasasanam is in favour of Srini vāsa or Vēṅkatēsa abiding on Seshachala who has taken up the protection of this world I make this Dattam

What property was given as dānam is not mentioned in the inscription which is entirely in the Sanskrit language. The Devasthanam Epigraphist has tacked on to the Sanskrit portion a Telugu inscription of which the first thirteen lines are missing. But there is a Kanarese version of this which shows that it is complete in itself without any indication of its being a continuation of the Sanskrit portion. It may be that in the Sanskrit portion there may be a few lines missing as well which might have contained the details of the danam made. We have to bear in mind that the Sanskrit portion was composed and inscribed in Hampi on the occasion of the festival of Krishna Devaraya's coronation on Magha Suddha 14 in Saka 1430 (say 4th February 1509). It is not unlikely that the same text, with the slight alteration we have already noticed was inscribed in Tirumalai temple also on or about the same date in 1509. The Kanarese and the Telugu

1 Bhuvana bhavana sūradbhānaya Venkatēśabbi dhānaya
Sēshachala nirvāṣya Srinivāṣya dattamidaṁ dharmasasanam.

IMPROPERLY WORDED SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION

inscriptions which were made in June 1513, making a grant of certain villages for the Thai Brahmotsavam may be quite unconnected with the grant made as mentioned by the Sanskrit inscription. The Kanarese inscription shows that the grant was made to the Sri Bhandāram of Tiruvengadamudaiyan and not to Tiruvengadamudaiyan Himself as shown in the Sanskrit inscription. In the Telugu inscription this piece of information is however missing. To say that it was given to the Sri Bhandaram is also not quite the appropriate expression. We would rather put it as the Sri Bhandaram of Tiruvengadamudaiyan's Temple, not His Sri Bhandaram.

It is something unusual, if not unthinkable for a mortal to say that he gives away (dattam) anything in favour of, or to, God. One may make a Dharmasāsanam using such words in the case of a grant for another mortal or for a charitable purpose. The usual form is to say that the dharmasāsanam was being executed for the purpose of certain offerings to be made, or for certain services to be rendered to the Deity. We may here refer to the language used in the Sanskrit portion of the Hampi inscription wherein Singanayakanahalli village was granted to the Virupaksha swami temple. It reads "Bhuvana bhairava sāvadhānāya Virūpākshābhīdhānāya vitirṇa vinitajana hēma kūtāya Hēma kūtā yatana syālīnē Sūlīnē Madhura-phalāpūpādī hṛdaya neivēdyaya Singēnayakana hallitī vikhyāta nāmā chatussī mābhirāmō grāmō dattō vittōpakārīna".

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Sri Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya's grant converting Tirupati into a Sarvamanyam reads —
(I 100) ‘

சாரவண சன்னிதிக்கு அமுதுபடி சாத்தபடிக்கு
அடங்கலும் சந்திராதிதகனை வல-மேனியமாகக் குடுத்தோம்
இவ்வாறு முதல் இந்த திருவாராதனம் நாமுரை எடக்கவும்

(“For the Narayanan Sannidhi Amudupadi and Sattupadi we have given as Sarvamanyam. From this day forward let the Tiruvaradhanam be done without anything wanting)

This language in which the grants are couched shows a refinement which is characteristic of the Sri Vaishnava Sampradaya. It is this spirit that we find absent in the inscriptions detailing the grants made by the Vijayanagar Kings down to the days of Krishnadeva Maharaya. It may perhaps be said that we have inferred too much from the language of a single inscription and that we are not warranted in coming to the conclusion that Sri Krishnadevaraya's religious education was no better than that of the average Hindu who has faith in a personal God, whom he must propitiate to get on well in this world and escape troubles and miseries. Krishna Deva Raya's numerous and costly gifts really appear in no better light. He washed his sins in the waters of the Rameswaram sea like any other Hindu. He made danams as many do to ward off evils. But we look in vain when we wish to find out what he did for the propagation of Hindu religion and for the advancement of spiritual culture. He trusted solely Tiruvengadanatha for the

achievement of his ambitions in this life. During none of his seven visits to Tirupati did he go to the temple of Sri Govindaraja swami there; nor is there anything on record to show that he offered a namaskaram before Sri Ramanuja's image which is within the temple precincts of Tirumalai.

Krishna Devaraya's attitude towards the Sthanattar

We have next to examine from the inscriptions how he treated the Sthanattar who were in charge of the secular administration of the temple and how they regarded him. . . We have seen that ever since the reconstituted Sthanattar came into existence about 1390 A.D., it became increasingly customary for donors of food services in the temple to hand over to the Sthanattar a portion, if not the full quarter share of the donor. Donors who were resident in Tirupati and Chandragiri, the merchants in, particular seem to have considered that the Sthanattar should be duly respected in this manner. To the Sthanattar it became more or less a question of prestige. They were not salaried servants of the temple. They took it as honorary work. But gradually a share in prasadam came to be considered as the perquisite of office. The term *Nirvāham* used to connote this share implies that it was their source of livelihood. So also the *dakshinas* they received during special festivals and during the *tirukkaivalakkam* distribution of cash. We also saw that after the death of Sāluva Narasimha Maharaya, due to some of the activities of Kandadai

Ramanuja Ayyangar and the complicity of the Sthanattar therein, the prestige of the Sthanattar suffered to some extent. Some of the donors ignored the Sthanattar and distributed the donors share among others, to the Tiruppani Bhandarattar in particular. Some started their own chatrams where the donor's share was distributed to the pilgrims. Saluva Narasimha's Ramanujekutam managed by Kandada Ramanuja Ayyangar, was also ignored. The prestige of the Sthanattar suffered much more by the treatment which Sri Vira Pratapa Krishna deva Maharaya gave them. Krishnadeva Maharaya made seven visits to the temple. On three occasions alone he made endowments for food offerings. As one of these inscriptions is an incomplete one we do not know the quantity and the varieties he offered. But from the inscriptions we see that out of $2\frac{1}{2}$ prasadam's due to him he gave one to Ranga Dikshitar one to Silva Dikshitar (both being his pnrōhita) and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to Tiruppani Bhandarattar. He however sent to his own satram kept under the management of the Tiruppani Bhandaram 2 Tiruk kanāmadai, 26 appanis etc. His two queens gave more to the Tiruppani Bhandarattār and what remained thereafter to the satram. Thus the Sthanattar were completely ignored. There are many cases in which the donors who had other commitments gave only a small portion to the Sthanattar to respect their claim. Krishna Deva Raya's action would have been construed as a positive insult. We have to draw this inference from the manner in

which the Sthanattar reacted. Their reaction consisted in ignoring the Emperor while inscribing endowment deeds. Except in the inscriptions directly made by Sri Krishna Devaraya's personal composers and engravers in almost all other cases the Emperor's name was omitted. Even where it had to be mentioned, the usual prasasti did not find a place. The rare instances where the prasasti are given are —

(a) His palace door-keepers Natasayya and Timmayya describe him as "Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharaya" (III 26.)

(b) Udigam Ellappa Nāvakkār endowed three villages for the merit of Krishnaraya Maharaya (III. 109, 1516 A.D.). What is the Prasasti? (சுஜய-
உடிகம் எல்லாப நாவக்கர்) as the dharmam of Krishnaraya Maharaya.

(c) Ekkadi Timmamman, daughter of Nalla Gangamman, made an endowment of 1500 Panam (III 124) as Krishna Devaraya's dharmam add calls him "Sriman Mahatajadhiraja Raja Paramesvara" (சுந்தரம் உடிகாதிமம்மன் நல்லாங்கம்மன் ஓய்யா சூதிரன்) தாப சூதிரன்
சுஜயதாய மஹாநாயகரு ஓய்யாதாய)

(d) In giving effect to Sri Krishna Devaraya's Rāyasam to make over to Srimat Vyāsa tīrtha Sri Pāda Udayāi, the Sthanattar gave the prasasti as "Sriman Mahatajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharaya" (III 159)

(e) In an endowment of only 300 panam, one Yatirajan disciple of Alagiya Manavala Jiyai

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and manager of a flower garden, commences his inscription with ' Hail Srīman Maharajadhirāja Raja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa It is presumed this refers to Krishna Deva and not to his successor as the year is Sarvajit (1527 A.D)

(f) In a similar endowment of 300 panam (III. 172) one Srīramayyan starts with " while Srīman Maharajadhirāja Raja paramesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar was ruling the earth

(g) One Perumal making an endowment III. 180 of 1500 panams got the inscription to start with When Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar was ruling the earth சுந்திரிசுந்திரம் அண்ணியருக்கென
சாரபதம் தருகிறேன் (1450)

(h) Adaiippan Bhaiyappa Nayakkar endowed for 6 Tirupponakkam for the combined merit of his own father and Krishna raya Maharayar (III. 135)
' சுந்திரிசுந்திரம் அண்ணியருக்கென
சாரபதம் தருகிறேன்

(i) Sinnappa Reddi of Putalapattu endows for the merit of Krishnadeva Maharaya (III 167 17-1-1527) சுந்திரிசுந்திரம் அண்ணியருக்கென
சாரபதம் தருகிறேன்

There are 229 inscriptions in Vol III. out of which 55 have been inscribed by Sri Krishnadeva raya's own men There thus remain 174 relating to endowments etc by others There are only 7 in which the Emperor's name or prasaṁsi is given None of his officers seem to have shown an anxiety

to give his name and the full prasasti. These are given only in his own inscriptions. *Until the victorious campaign against the Kalinga country was completed the Emperor is described as Srīman Mahārajadhīraja Raja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnadeva Mahārāja* ' ' *Thereafter he styled himself " Srīman Mahārajadhīraja Raja Paramesvara Mūvāyāyaganda Ariyāyāyā Vibhāta Ashtadīkrāya manōbhayankara Bhāshaga tappuvarāyara Pūrva-Dakshina - Paschima - Samudradhisvara Yavanarājya-Sthāpanāchārīya Gajapati Vibhāta Sri Vira Krishnarāja Mahārāja "*. Even his own officers showed no inclination to quote all these titles in any of the inscriptions relating to their endowments

Nor did Sripāda Udayāi to whom he gave with libations of water (பாரபூசனமாக) a piece of land to build his matham and to whom he made over his own share of prasādams (Vide III 158 and 159)—15½ prasādams, 26 atirasams, 1½ palam chandanam, 75 areca nuts and 150 betel leaves daily, sufficient to feed about 200 persons—mention even the Emperor's name in the endowments made by him (III. 165, 8-11-1524 and III. 175 (2-4-1528).

Krishnadeva Maharajar took no notice of the religious heirarchy of the temple, the Āchāryapurushas. It is a well-known fact that a member of the family of Soṭṭai Tirumalai nambi had settled down in Anagundi as the hereditary guru of the Sangama

1 III 73, (6-7-1514) gives the old prasasti and III 76, (25-10-1515) gives the prasasti after the conquest of Kalinga rajya

line of kings and that the members of that family came to be known as Rāyagurus. Their descendants are living there even now. But Sri Krishnadeva does not seem to have given any recognition to the members of that family who have been the first āhāryapurushas of the temple (his successors did not copy his example). Much less did he take notice of the other achāryapurushas. In their endowments therefore none of these ever mentioned the name of the Emperor although as we have seen, some of them extolled the achievements of even princes who were their disciples.

Nandavanams and Sattada Srivaishnavas ignored.

It was usual for the rulers, princes and the wealthy classes to establish and maintain nandavanams in Tirumalai to supply flowers to Tiruvengadamudaiyan. The Sattada Sri Vaishnavas used to be placed in charge of these and to be paid in cash as well as by being given a portion of the donors share of prasadam. They were also expected to take part in Prabandham recital and in providing Sattupadi. Krishnadeva did not follow this usage.

Temple structures received no attention.

We shall next see whether he took any interest in the improvements to the temple structures. There is nothing to show that he took any interest. *Not even a mantapam was constructed by him. He did nothing in the shape of providing facilities to pilgrims. His attachment to Tiruvengatanatha*

KRISHNADEVA'S GIFTS TO TIRUVENGATANATHA

appears purely to have been a business affair. He showed his gratitude by showering gold on the Murti and by presenting Tiruvabharanam on a lavish scale; but these have mostly disappeared. *The Prabhavalī, the Kīrtam and the swords alone remain.* While King Hōbala Yādava of Tanjai presented a gold flower for his Vaikunṭhahastam which promises salvation to mankind, Krishna's sword reminds us of punishment and vengeance. This perhaps indicates the difference in religious outlook between the two

Krishnadevaraya's gift to Tiruvengatanatha.

All the gifts made by the Emperor at Tirumalai seem to have been engraved on stone by his own engraver Sripatī, son of Peddayāsārī, and the draft of the edicts was also composed by his own men either Gindī Basavarayulu or Baguri Mallarasa. The Sthanattar do not figure in any of these inscriptions except in III 80, wherein they were empowered to collect certain taxes. In the disposal of the donor's share of the prasadam it was the Tiruppanipillai that was empowered to appropriate to himself 1/5 share of the prasadam in each and to distribute the remainder to pilgrims in the choultries established by the Emperor and his two queens. The total quantity of the food offerings by the three is 20 tirupponakam, 4 tirukkaṇāmaḍai and 4 appapadī. The two puohits who accompanied the Emperor, Ranga Dikshitar and Siva Dikshitar, also got each a large share of the prasadams.

Gifts and Endowments made by Krishnadeva and His two Queens.

A. *Gifts made on 10-2-1513 A.D*

1. One Navaratna Kiritam the total weight of which was 3308 carats, Vommechehn 1555, Kundanam gold 1076

2 One Trisaram (three-stringed necklace) containing pearls, manikyam sapphires etc. With addigas all weighing 225 carats and one padakam weighing 61 carats.

3 Twenty five silver plates for offering camphor harathi

By Queen Chinnajiamma.

4 One gold cup for offering milk (செவ்வாய் அப்ப
செய்ய) at the nightly Ekanta Seva, weighing 374 carats (கரக)

By Tirumaladeviamma.

5 One gold cup for offering milk as above weighing 374 units

B. *On 2nd May 1513*

6 One Vududhara ornament weighing in all 66 units inclusive of 5 diamonds 17 addigas, set with emeralds rubies old diamonds gems and gold string

7 One Kathari (sword) with sheath set with diamonds, rubies sapphires, tassel for sheath com

ENDOWMENTS BY KRISHNADEVA

posed of small pearls, big pearls and rubies. Total weight 326 units. In these the rubies, diamonds and emeralds alone weigh 165 units

8. One Nichchala Kathāri sheath for daily use 132 units set with rubies on top

9. One small sword for daily use with tassel of pearls

10. One sheath for above sword containing rubies, pearls and diamonds.

11 One padakam or pendant weighing 87 carats set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds etc.,

12. One pair of Bhuja Kīrti or vanki weighing 573 units set with pearls, rubies, sapphires and old diamonds.

13. One Bhuja Kīrti for daily use weighing 198 units

14 Two pairs of Bhuja Kīrti for daily use.

15. One gold string with 17 addigas, 30 more addigas in shape of peepul leaves, pearls, rubies diamonds and emeralds weighing 205 units in all.

16 Another similar string weighing 276 units.

17 For the Utsava Murti and Nāchchimar—Three crowns weighing 380 units in total, containing pearls, old diamonds, rubies, cat's eyes and sapphires (See III 60, 61, 62, 63).

C *On 6th July 1514.* (On his return journey after capturing Udayagiri Fort and after defeating Pratāparudra-Gajapati.) (See III 66, 67, 68.)

18 Kanakābhīṣhēkam with 30,000 gold varahans (Chakrapon) to Sri Venkatesa,

19 Three stringed ornament (కంఠపరికరం) weighing 250 units inclusive of gold wire gold clips rubles, pearls sapphires

20 One pair kadayam (Bahuvajayam) (Talipakkam village was granted for daily food offering) By Queen Chinnaidevi Ammal.—(See III 70 71 72.)

21 One kanṭha mālāi (necklace) with a padakam set with diamonds rubles emeralds and pearls weighing 200 units.

Mudiyūr village also granted for daily offering

By Queen Trimaladevi.—(See III, 73 74 75)

22 One Chakra padakam weighing 225½ units and containing diamonds rubles, emeralds and pearls.

(Pirāṭṭi Kulattūr granted for daily food offering)

By Krishnadevaraya.—(See III. 76 77 78.)

D On 25th October 1515 — Yuva Kartika Bahula 3 after returning from his victorious eastern expedition against Kallinga

23 One Navaratna Prabhāvali or Makara Tōranam total weight 27 287 units Containing 25 kirtimukha leaves 883 13835 vommachchu beads (కంఠపరికరం), gold wire weighing 16 solid gold 79½ silk and gold fringes hanging on the head of the makarātōranam 20 weighing 5174 The above contains 10994 red stones, 754 emeralds 530 sapphires,

ENDOWMENTS BY KRISHNADEVĀ'S QUEEN

40 cat's eyes; 45 agates, 74 topazes, 920 old diamonds; 3933 pearls; 4 large sapphires fixed as eyes; 6 corals and 30 conch shells.

The total weight of the arch of the Makara Tōranam weighs 14711 units. Grand total of the Prabhavalī in weight is 31124 units.

The above is for the Lord who gave Krishna Deva Katakapurī (Orissa).

E *On 2nd January 1517* (After returning from Sīmhādri Potnūru where he set up his triumphal pillar (Kalinga desa capture) (See III. 80, 81).

24. One Kanṭha mālai.

25. One Padakkam.

26. For gilding Vīmanam 30,000 varahas; (also ordered the Sthanattai to collect 1000 varahas from Godagūrnādu for the weekly puḷugukāppu expenses for Tiruvēngadamudaiyān, and certain other taxes of Godagūrnādu amounting to 500 varahas for conducting daily morning offerings).

(Gold gilding of the vīmanam completed on 9-9-1518).

F A Kamalapuram inscription seems to say that he paid a visit to Tirumalai with Queen Tirumaladevi on 16th October 1518. But there is no inscription in Tirumalai or Tirupatī to support this.

On 17th February 1521; (with Tirumaladevi alone accompanying) (See III 83, 84, 85, 86).

27. Pīṭambaram set with nine kinds of precious stones

28. Kullāvu (or head dress) set with pearls rubies, emeralds and sapphires,

29 Two ohāmaras (fly whisks) set with nine kinds of gems and 10,000 gold varahas

30 One padakam

31 By Tirumaladevi, a Navaratna Padakam.

H In addition to the above mentioned gifts he made in the early period of his reign during his third visit on 13-6-1513 certain endowments for the merit of his parents (father Narasā Nāyaka Udaiyār and mother Nagaiammangaru) which consisted of some ornament set with nine kinds of precious stones (portions of inscription are missing), and an annual Brahmotsavam in the Tamil month of Tai for which he endowed the villages of Ohatravādi, Tūrūru and Karikambādu, in Godagūrnādu.

Endowments and Gifts by the generals and officers of Sri Krishnadeva and others.

Besides the Emperor and his two Queens, there are a large number of his officers (numbering 24 in all), who visited the shrine and made endowments some on more than one occasion. It is worth noting what form their gifts took and how they looked at the Sthanattar and the others who served in the temple. There are also the Jiyars, Achāryā purushas temple servants merchants and citizens who made endowments. A comprehensive view of the form in which it was the fashion to make endowments and gifts may be useful for our estimate of the nature of temple worship during this period.

ENDOWMENTS BY OFFICERS

Considered in chronological order the first officer to make an endowment during Krishnadevaraya's reign was a general of the army, named *APPA PILLAI* son of Karavattippuli ālvār and a resident of Uttaramērar (Mahipāla Kulakālachchēri). He had made three endowments previously during the reign of Krishna Deva's elder brother Vīra-Narasimha, the first, on 19-5-1506 for four tirupponakam to Tiruvenkatamudaiyan, a second on 30th December 1506 of a capital sum of 3180 nar-panam for food offerings to Sri Govindaraja, on a number of festival days while seated in the Nīralī Mantapam constructed by him and third on 18-7-1508 for the celebration of an Anna Unjal Tirunal to Sri Govindaraja (similar to the one in Tirumalai). The last endowment was specially meant for the merit and welfare of Vīra Narasīngaraya Maharaya.

It has to be remembered here that Vīra Narasīngaraya had great difficulty in putting down revolts and rebellions, particularly around Kānchi and in Kongu nādu. Appa Pillai was the general in charge, at any rate of the country around Kānchi. He may therefore have considered it desirable to express his loyalty to his sovereign in this manner.

Soon after Krishna Devaraya succeeded to the throne one of his first acts was to turn his attention to the same part of his kingdom and to bring the Ummattūr Chief and the Sambuvarayas to subjection, where Appa Pillai continued to be the general even after this. He made a grant of Vīrakampa-

nallur to Tiruvengadamudaiyan on 7-4-1511 for the merit of Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar. The days selected for food offerings are his own birth day Pūraṭṭādi in Aḍi month, the Śraddha day of his mother every new moon day, every māsa Sankranti and a fairly large number of other festival days. Such days are according to Hindu conception selected to ward off evils. The usual prasasti of the Emperor however is not given in this inscription. This was probably because Krishnadevaraya himself had not yet made his first visit to Tirumalai. But before the end of 1512 Krishnadevaraya set matters right in the South and thereafter we have no more endowments made by Appa Pillai. Nor do we find his name mentioned again. From the offerings mentioned above Appa Pilla received his share of the prasadam and gave one appam to Kumāra Tatav yangar. Nothing was sent to the Ramanuja Kutam.

B Mahanayakachārya (or Commander in Chief) *PERIYA OBALA NAYAKAR RAMA NAYAKAR* is the next officer whose endowments have to be noticed. He had formerly on 4-9-1504 during the reign of Immadi Nārasimharayar made a grant of Kadalūr in Tirukkudavur nādu—the grant was authorised by the rāyasam of the Rayar—and 100 cows for offering to Tiruvengadamudaiyan daily, 24 taligais and one iddali padī, besides lighting a lamp before Raghunatha. He gave the donors share to the ½ vagal. During Krishna Deva's reign he made two endowments

MAHANAYAKACHARYA'S ENDOWMENT

one on 14-7-1512 and the other on 8-1-1514. In the former he granted Sengōdupalli to propitiate Tiruvengadamudaiyan and Garudālvār with 4 tirupponakam daily and one atirasappadi, when the Garudadhvaia is hoisted during all the Brahmotsavams. He also offered one atirasappadi on every Visakha nakshatra, which was his birth star. He presented 50 cows to afford ghee for one lamp. This endowment was made by him just before the beginning of the campaign for the capture of the eastern possessions of the Orissa king. The Mahanayakacharya whose duty and ambition was to hoist the Vijayanagar flag on the Udayagiri fortress, obviously sought the grace of Garudalvar (the emblem of Vishnu's flag), but he did not forget to mention his own birth nakshatra. The donor's share in this case went to the Tiruppani Bhandalattar. The endowment dated 8-1-1514 (III. 88), was made by the Commander-in-Chief after he had accomplished his task and had crushed the Gajapati forces. We therefore find him presenting 200 cows for a daily offering of Pālēdukkulambu (milk boiled with spices and sugar until it becomes semi-solid) as an expression of his gratitude to Tiruvengadamudaiyan. The donor's share was in this case ordered to be sent to his own Ramanujakutam so that his kinsmen and followers may partake of it. The point to note is that these are made not for Krishnadeva's merit.

C (1) The next officers to make endowments were *PRADHĀNI SĀLUVA TIMMARASAY-*

YANGAR and his brother *SĀLUVA GOVINDA RĀJA* Thimmarasa was the famous Chief Minister who saved the eyes, and therefore the very life of Krishnadevaraya. It is not unlikely that he knew more about the inner life of the Emperor than any other man then living. Timmarasa was also a general. His wife *LAKSHMI AMMANGAR* who seems to have been a pious lady made an endowment for offering one tirupponakam daily in her own name and she ordered that the donor's share should go to her son in law Nāṇḍla Appa who seems to have been then living in Chandraḡiri. In less than a month after this that is on 13 1 1612 *Saluva Timmarasa himself* made an endowment by making a grant of Parantalūr in Poṭṭapinādu for offering daily 8 tirupponakams and 1 atirasappadi to Tiruvengadamudaiyan and certain other vagai padis to Sri Govindaraja on certain festival days. But he took the donor's share himself except for one prasadam which he gave to the Sāttāda Sri Vaiṣṇava Singayyan who maintained his flower garden. An undated inscription on the south wall of the Kalyana mantapam in Sri Govindarajas temple (in Sanskrit verse (grantha characters composers name not stated) very much praises Timmarasa for his great qualities of head and heart and loyalty and also the brilliance and beauty of the Pitambaram dress which he presented to Sri Venkatesa. It might have been engraved soon after the coronation of Sri Krishnadeva Raya.

OFFICERS' ENDOWMENTS

C (2) A brother of Saluva Timmarasa, named *SALUVA GOVINDARAJA* made an endowment on 27-8-1522 for the merit of Krishnadeva Maharaya (செருஷ்ணதேவ மஹாராயற்கு தம்மமாக) by the grant of Mēlpāḍi village in Gandikkōttai sirmai for propitiating Sri Venkatesa and for Sri Gopalakrishnan which was installed by Govindaraya in Tirupati, and for a number of other festivals. The donor's share in this case went to the 12 nūvāham and the 3¹ vagai in equal shares.

D *RĀYASAM KONDAMARASAYYAR*.—After the capture of Udayagiri, this officer seems to have been its first Governor between June 1514 and February 1516. He also appears to have been the first Governor of Kondavidu and Kondapalli till about the beginning of 1519 A.D. He constructed a tank and a temple in Kaluvāyi in Nellore sirmai. The temple was consecrated on 14-4-1519¹. His endowment to Tiruvengadamudaiyan is dated 17-4-1519 (III 130). It is probable that the endowment was made in absentia, as the installation ceremonies in Kaluvāyi would have taken about ten days from 14-4-1519, seeing that they were made for the spiritual benefit of his father and mother. The endowment consisted of the grant of Mulumpūḍi (probably a Tamilised form of Mulumūḍi), a village with an irrigation tank attached to it. The grant was obviously made in the later period of his official career when by God's grace he was the

¹ Nellore Inscription Atmakur No. 28

Viceroy in the land of his birth The daily offering out of this grant was 16 tiruppōnakam, 1 appapadī and 1 truckkanāmadaī by no means an insignificant offering The donors share of the prasādam was arranged to be sent to the satraṁ which he seems to have maintained in Tirumalai He too evidently did not wish to send the prasādam to the Ramanujakutam or to add to the income of the Sthanattar or the Tiruppani Bhandarattār Nor did he dedicate his endowment for the merit of Sri Vira Krishnadeva Maharaya

E. *MANNAR PILLAI* the brother of Appa Pillai seems to have been one of the officers in Krishna Devaraya's service His first endowment (III. 23) was made on 27-6-1512 and was in connection mainly with a flower garden and a mantapam constructed below a tank known as Mannasamudram tank The name suggests that it was excavated by Mannar Pillai or that it was named after him The offerings were meant for Tirumangai Alvar and incidentally to Sri Govindaraja His next endowment (III. 29) was made on 20-12-1512 that is six months after the former This was for Malai ninnaperumal Nachchimar and Sennai Mudaliar His preference for Tirumangai Alvar and Sennai Mudaliar strongly suggests that he had a reverence for acharyas and deities of a military disposition or antecedents The endowments were of the value of 1000 and 1200 panams respectively The distribution of the donors share was arranged to honour

OFFICERS' ENDOWMENTS

Kumara Tātayyangaṛ the Truppan Pillai, the 12 nirvahanis, the Vagai and the Tirupati Sri Vaishnavas, him-self receiving a share. These arrangements show his devotion to God.

F. *ELLAPPA NAVAKKAR AND TIRUMALAI NAVAKKAR* Tirumalai Nayakkar was presumably in Krishnadevayayas service. The first is the father and the second the son. The interest evinced by Tirumalai Nayakkar in all classes of people in Tirupati, shows that he was a native of Tirupati. The father must be presumed from the inscription to have endowed 1600 panams for the offering of one trupponakam daily and some atirasuppalis on certain festival days to Sri Govindaraja, the donor's share being received by himself. The son Tirumalai Nayakkar (as the name would suggest) was named after the God of Tiruvengadam out of devotion and piety. In 1512 A.D. Tirumalai Nayakkar excavated an irrigation channel in Parittiputtur lands and from the extra income which accrued by this cultivation, he made a variety of offerings to Sri Govindaraja in the mantapam constructed by him in his flower garden in Tirupati. The most noteworthy feature of his endowment¹ is the distribution of the donor's share very widely so as to give satisfaction to all the men of his native town Tirupati. They were Kumara Tātayyangaṛ Appachechiyar Anna, Pāpavināsam Ayyagal, the 12 Nirvahan and 3½ Vagai, Nambimar, Tiruninra-

1 III 106 Utturam, 10th titi, year missing

2 III 127

ūr ndaiyar Viṇṇappam saivar, Nōttakkārar, Mudrai Maṇishi Mahajanams, Dasa Nambis Mntṭukkārar, Naṭṭuvar Kaikkōlar Kammalar Kusavar, Tēvaiyal, Singamura, Tiruchchukanūr Nambimar Sabhaiyar Ammaiyyappa Nayanar etc. He must have been a popular figure in Tirupatī, he makes no reference to his sovereign Krishnadevaraya. He seems to have been a great devotee of Śrī Govindaraja Perumal.

G *TAMMU NAYAKKAR AND TIRU VENKATAYYAR* These were sons of Jillella Basava Nayakkar and grandsons of Ghaṭṭikai Dalavay Dadi Nayakkar. Both have made endowments. Tammu Nayakkar made an endowment (ILL 87) of 200 panams on 30-12-1513. He was one of Krishnadeva Raya's generals in the army and Tiruvenkatayyan is described as a disciple of Ramanja Jiyar. Tiruvenkatayyan made an endowment (ILL 125 11-10-1518) of the value of 1500 panams for offering one tirupponakam daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan.

H *VASALAM LLLAPPANAYAKKAR* He was a member of the king's household establishment and is stated to have built the Kalter chatram (see *Q. 111*) in Tirumalai as his Dharmam (III 168) on 20-3-1527.

I (a) *KARANIKKA BASAVARASA* was probably a revenue officer during Krishnadevaraya's reign. There were two men bearing this name. One is described as the son of Somarasa of Gautama

Gotra, Asvalavana Sūtra and a native of Tirup-
pergūr (Tiruppattur). He excavated an irrigation
channel at Maniyakkōnpettai to raise crops for the
merit of *Sri Kṛṣṇadeva Mahārāja*. (திருப்பெருங்குடி
மனியக்கோண்பெட்டை) and endowed the proceeds for
making offerings in connection with the Gamakkulī
Vasanta festival. The donors share of the prasada-
mas went to the 12 nūvams and the 3½
vagai equally. He also made provision for cash
payments to all temple servants concerned amount-
ing to 84 panams. Others who have made similar
endowments, viz. Rabuttanallūr Rāmayyan, Har-
van Arasur Kankattiyar and Parimangalam Tim-
marasar are also mentioned in the inscription. The
cash endowment amount to 570 panams on the
whole.

I. (b) The other *Kāranikka Basavarasa* was
the son of Chāndikar Obala dēvar of Kaundinya
Gōtra, Asvalana Sūtra and Rik Sākha. He seems
to have been an attavavani, or revenue officer, of
some rank. He made an endowment of 6640 panams
on 21-9-1528, for a trumanjanam and āsthānam on
every full-moon day to Utsavar in Thumalai. The
donors share of the prasadam was distributed
equally between 12 nūvams and 3½ vagai.

He had previously in Saka 1443 (1521-22)
Vishu year made an endowment of 6100 panams
for offering a novel preparation called *bhētanikkai*
(பேட்டணிகாய) with 1½ marakkal black gram, 1/2
marakkal wheat flour and 8 nali of ghee and one

ollock cumen seeds. The donor's share was divided by him equally between the 12 nirvahams and 3½ vagai. Neither of these inscriptions makes any mention of Krishnadevaraya's name.

J UDIYAM ELLAPPA NĀYAKKAR

Father's name is unluckily missing in the inscription relating to his endowment.¹ This Udiyam Nayakkar must have been a personal attendant on Krishnadevaraya. His endowment (III 109) made on 2-6-1516 was for the *marit* of *Krishnaraya Maharayar* and consisted of three villages Kāṭṭalaippaṭṭu Nelvāy and Kollidumbai for food offerings of eight tirupponakam daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan. From the fact that the one fourth share of the donor was entirely given away by him to the Ramanujakutam (presumably of Periya Obala Nayakkar Ramanayakkar) it may reasonably be inferred that they were related to each other.

K EKKĀḌĪ TIMMAMMAN daughter of Nalla Gangamman. She seems to have been a trusted servant in the harem of the Emperor and her endowment (III 124) of 1500 panams for one tirupponakam daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan made on 4-10-1518 distinctly states that it was for the dharmam of Srīman Maharajadhiraja Raja Parama-

1 In the F. T. Devasthanams Report on the Inscriptions (p. 201) he is identified with Vasalam Ellappa Nayakkar but there is no authority for doing so. Nor is there any justification for confusing him with another Ellappa Nayakkar who was the father of Tirumalai Nayakkar. Neither of the individuals was doing Udiyam service.

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svara Sri Viṇapratapa Sri Vira Krishnaraya Maharayar. From the absence of such a description in the other inscriptions, excepting the edicts of the Emperor himself, it looks as if she insisted on the full description being engraved. She gave away her share of the offered prasadam as charity to a certain Vaikuntha Dikshitar of Tekkalur (probably one of the Tēvaiyars).

L. *ADAIPPAM BHAIYAPPA NAYAK-KAR*, son of Timmappa Nayakkar of Kasyapa gotra. He was doing adaippam service (betel leaf-bearer). His endowment for offering 6 tirupponakam daily to Tiruvengadamudaiyan was for the combined merit of Krishnaraya Maharayar and his own father Timma Nayakkar. This was made on (III. 135) 16-4-1519. The portion of the inscription relating to the manner of disposal of donor's share is missing. It might have been just like Ellappa Nayakkar's inscription.

M. *TRYAMBAKA DĒVAR*, son of Tippa-rasar. He is said to have been a military officer who commanded a regiment in the battle of Raichur in May 1520. He is stated to have been a resident of Sivanasamudram. He made an endowment (III. 116) 12-10-1517) of Morandai village in Tirumanichchirmai for offering to Tiruvengadamudaiyan daily 1 tirupponakam and other offerings on other visēsha divasams, aggregating to 47 Nayaka taligai and 13 atirasappadis. The donor's share was to be taken by the donor. Such an endowment ignoring Sri

Govindaraja shows that he was quite a Desantari and followed Sri Krishnadevaraya in his faith

N BĀHŪR MALLARASAR AND LAKKU NAYAKKAR These are two subordinate officers The former made an endowment (III 127) 16 10-1516 of 360 paname and the latter one of 1500 panams (III 137) 4-10 1519 for food offerings The donor's share was given away to the nirvahams and vagais.

SUBUDDHI RĀMADĀSAR AND AMBIKĀ MUDUSILA The former was the son of one Sankaradāsar and the latter of Bhīmaṇḍayar They belonged to different gotras but both were originally in the service of Gajapatiraya of Orissa and must have gone over to Vijayanagar as attendants on the daughter of that king when she married Krishna devaraya Tandalam and Tadapalam were two villages which were granted to these two persons respectively by Krishnadevaraya by a copper plate grant Tandalam's income gave enough for 2 tirup-ponakam and Tadapalam's for one They made a gift of these to Sri Venkatesa by an endowment (III 147) made by the two on 1-11-1521 The donor's share went to the managers of their flower gardens and to a Ramanujakutam Perhaps they did not like the idea of enjoying villages gifted by Krishnadevaraya and therefore got rid of them in this manner without hurting the feelings of the Emperor

Before giving an account of endowments made by those who were attached permanently to or who

TREND OF THE EMPEROR'S ENDOWMENTS

had an abiding interest in the temple as devotees, it is desirable to find out the general trend of the endowments made by the Emperor, his officers and dependents.

The Emperor's attention was evidently fixed on Tiruvengadamudaiyan and not the temple or its environments or its festivals. The temple servants and the management received little or no encouragement from him. Many of his high ranking officers followed suit. Just as the Emperor had his own satram, the chief minister, the commander-in-chief and several others maintained their own satrams or Ramanujakutams. But officers who were sons of the soil did not fail to evince their attachment to the Tirupati Govindaraja's Temple also. Nor did they overlook the temple establishment in the disposal of the donor's share of the prasadams or in the payment of cash as *tirukkaivalakkam* during minor festivals instituted by them. Ellappa Nayakkar and Appa Pillai showed beyond doubt that they held the temple servants on a plane higher than that of mere servants earning wages. The daily food offerings contributed by these officers amounted to 58 *tirupponakam* (food offerings of cooked rice) and the donor's share thereof would have been about 15 *taligais* enough to feed about 150 persons daily. This is exclusive of the large quantities of *appams*, *atirasams*, *vadais*, *gōdhi* and *tirukkanāmadaḷ padis* for which about 2,400 *marakkals* of rice besides other ingredients were used and

which would have been enough to feed daily 60 more persons. A large part of this food went to maintain the Sāttada Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, who were maintaining flower gardens and probably managing some of the satrams

THE JIYARS.

During this period we notice the existence of three separate mathams in Tirumalai and Tirupati. The earliest of these is the *ARISANĀLAYAM NANDAVANAM AND MATHAM* which as was already noticed came into the possession of one Mulalai Tiruvenkata Jiyar sometime between 1387 and 1390 A.D. He was the first manager and Jiyar of that matham. He subsequently acquired the additional office of Kōḷi Kēlvi Jiyar and was one of the Sthanattar of the Temple. He had a Junior Jiyar under him since one individual could not perform the daily duties of the Tirumalai and the Tirupati temples. The religious portion of these duties consisted in rendering the pariharakam service to help the archakas during puja. The Kōḷi Kēlvi which was the secular portion of his duties consisted in exercising general control and superintendence over the temple stores, that is receiving and issuing provisions for the temple use. During the period covered by Krishnadevarāja's reign we come across the name of Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar. In III 2 19-7-1504 he is known as Anusandhanam Tiru

1 Appendix I to Vol I show that he continued to be the Store-keeper even during the period of management by the East India Co

TIRUVENKATA JIYAR

venkata Jiyar, manager of the Tiruvenkatanāthan Tirunandavanam. The inscription also shows that he had a matham in Tirupati called the Tiruvenkatanāthan Matham. These indicate that he was the founder of the Matham and the flower garden. He made an endowment of 2000 panams. From the interest thereon certain food offerings were to be made annually in Tirumalai for Venkatesvara, in Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja and to Udaiyavar. The beneficiaries of the donor's share in Tirumalai were the Ekāki Sū Vaishnavas, managing the Matham and in Tirupati his own Matham. In III 107, 9-5-1516 he is described as Kōyil Kēlvi Tiruvenkata Jiyar, manager of the Tiruvenkatanathan Mathams, showing that he had by then become Kōvil Kēlvi Jiyar. He made an endowment of 1,000 panams this time and another Jiyar called Madhava Jiyar made an endowment of 850 panams (the total is however put down as 2850 panams in this inscription). In this inscription we come across the names of *Perarulalan matham* and *Van Sathagopan Matham*, as recipients of portions of the donor's share of the prasadam. The point to notice is that Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar became Kōyil Kēlvi Tiruvenkata Jiyar in 1516. In III 139, 6-10-1520 A.D. he is known as Periya Kōil Kēlvi Tiruvenkata Jiyar, manager of Perarulalanar Tirunandavanam and Matham. The inference is that he became the senior Jiyar. He made this time an endowment of 1510 panams as capital for certain food offerings to Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindaraja-

swami and for Udaiyavar. A portion of the donor's share of this goes to the reciters of Prabandham, to the 12 nirvahams of the Sthanattar and to the 4½ vagais. These endowments seem to have been made to commemorate his rise in the religious order which he had entered. On (III 143,) 5th December 1520 he made a fourth endowment of 1 000 panams for making similar offerings. In the inscription relating to this he is styled as the Kōil Kēlvī Tiruvenkata Jiyar, manager of the Pankayachchelli Tirunandavanam at Tirumalai entitled Śrīmad vēda mārṅa pratishtāpanācharya and paramahansa parivrajakācharya. We notice also changes in his managership of Tirunandavanams from Tiruvenkatanathan to Perarulan and again to Pankayachchelli. More will be said in the Chapter on Alvares about this Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar and his contribution to the task of making Prabandham recital a part of the liturgy in Tirumalai and Tirupati temples.

Still later in III 173 19-7-1527 we find that Ramanuj Jiyar is described as Kōil Kēlvī and the manager of Pankayachchelli Tirunandavanam in Tirumalai. *We have to infer that some time between 1520 and 1527 or just about July 1527, Tiruvenkata Jiyar died and was succeeded in that position by Ramanuj Jiyar.* But the latter is not styled Periya Kōil Kēlvī. The inscription shows an endowment of 500 panams and another 350 panams was paid by one Yativajayan making a total of

850 panam We are told that he was a disciple of Alagiya Manavala Jiyar. These Jiyars and their mathams stand on a different footing from the Jiyars of the Van Sathagopan matham and the mathadhipatis of the Vyasatirtha matham. The latter render spiritual service to large circles of disciples. The Van Sathagopan matham caters to a part of the Vadagalai community of Srivaishnavas and the Vyasatirtha Matham to a part of the Madhva community scattered all over the Madras Presidency and the Hyderabad State. The Jiyars attached to the Tirumalai Temples have no such function. Their activities are restricted to their daily duties in the temples.

THE VAN SATHAGOPAN MATHAM

We have noticed that Singayya Dannāyaka, who founded the Arisanālayam Tirunandavanam and matham, founded at the same time the Van Sathagopan Tirunandavanam. While he handed over the former to a Jiyar, there is no record to show how he disposed of the latter. There must have been a celibate or a sanyasi for managing it also. This was about 1339 A.D.

The next reference to a Van Sathagopa is in the year 1485 A.D. when one Nallār Angāndai,¹ an accountant of the Tirumalai temple, is stated to have carried out the completion of the verandah of the Vasanta mantapam, in front of Sri Govindarajawami temple in Tirupati, which some time before

1. II 88 dated 6-6-1485

(முனஞ்ச) was commenced by Van Sathagopa Jiyar from out of the income of the Tiruvidaiyattam (or temple) village of Pūngōdu but left incomplete. He (Angandai) paid 2000 panams to the Sthanattar as value of the work done up to the date of his taking over the further execution of the work. The exact wording of the inscription is "முனஞ்ச வண்டகோபஜியா திருவிடைமடம் சீர்திருக்கோட்டிச முனஞ்ச கோண்ட வந்த மண்டபத்துக்கு கயதாசமகச குறம்கொட்டுவித்த வெமமண்டபம் கட்டு. If in the year 1485 the period

is described as some time in the past (முனஞ்ச) we might perhaps be justified in assuming that it was at the commencement of the 15th century that Van Sathagopa Jiyar commenced the work. From I 185 (13 11 348) we find that Pūngōdu was or had become a temple village on that date. The Ahōhila Mutt account which says that Van Sathagopa Jiyar was born in 1378 and lived up to 1488 may not therefore be inaccurate. The fact that he left the Vasanta mantapam verundah half built and that it was completed by Nallar Angandai need not be taken to indicate that the Jiyar died and that therefore the work was left incomplete. We further infer from the wording of the inscription relating to an endowment made by one Dattiraja Tammayan (II 101 15-6-1493 A D) wherein he makes over a portion of the donor's share of the food offerings to Alagiya Singar (Narasimhaswami) in Tirumalai temple to the disciples of his acharya Van Sathagopa Jiyar. The tamil wording is 'இந்த வண்டகோபஜியா கயதாசமகச குறம்கொட்டுவித்த வெமமண்டபம் கட்டு. If in the year 1485 the period

வண்டகோபஜியர் ஸ்ஷீ பரம்பரையாக பெற்றுவரக்கடவ ராகா
 வும்." The words missing in the dotted portion might
 have denoted the name of the acharya Van Satha-
 gopa Jiyar or they might have simply contained the
 usual திருவுள்ளப்படிக்கு, or நியமனப்படிக்கு. The latter is
 the more probable of the two. If so we may take it
 that Van Sathagopa Jiyar was alive in 1493 A.D.
 That he was not frequently visiting Tirupati is a
 fact which must be accounted for from the nature
 of the responsibility he had undertaken. He seems
 to have left Tirupati and gone to Ahobīlam some-
 where about the year 1420 during the reign of
 Devaraya II, assumed the Sanyāsa āsramam there and
 went about preaching the gospel of Sri Ramanuja in
 the country round that place. We have reasons to
 believe that he was responsible for making the Sāttā-
 da Srīvaishnavas the archakas of the new temples
 which were then being constructed in several places
 in the Rayalaseema and Nellore. He was likewise
 responsible for creating the class of persons called
 māla dāsaris and konḍa dāsaris, for instructing them
 in the language of the country and making them
 the religious teachers of the depressed classes. Van
 Sathagopa Jiyar being a man of the Kannada Dēsa
 was best fitted to undertake and carry out this task
 with success. We know that he also became the
 ācharya of Allasani Peddanna, who later adorned
 the Court of Sri Krishnadeva Maharaya.

The earliest inscriptions which relate to endow-
 ments¹ made directly by one of the Jiyaris of the

1, III 110, 20-8-1, 16, III 114, 7-11-1516

Van Sathagopan matham are those made during Krishnadevaraya's reign. The Jiyar is called in the first of these inscriptions Srīman Narayana Jiyar disciple of Srī Van Sathagopa Jiyar and in the next he is described as Srīman Narayana Jiyar the disciple of Srī Van Sathagopa Jiyar entitled Vedantaohārya (வெந்தாஹாரியன் ஸ்ரீமன் நாராயண ஜியர் ஸ்ரீவாணராயன் ஸ்ரீமன் வசுதேவ ஜியர்). Although his acharya made a great name for himself Narayana Jiyar displays humility and simplicity. The only title he claimed for his great Acharya was 'Vedantaoharya'. The value of his endowments were only 1860 and 3800 panams respectively. The offerings were for Tiruvēngadamudaiyān Govindarajan the Alvars and Udayavar. From the second inscription we learn that he had constructed a mantapam in a flower garden in Tirumalai. From the inscriptions of Anusadhanam Tiruvenkata Jiyar also we know that he had his mathams in Tirumalai and Tirupati. We hear no more about him as his mission was a peripatetic one and as he had no services to do in the temple in Tirumalai or Tirupati.

There was no contact between the Van Sathagopan matham Jiyars and the Vijayanagar Kings as far as we can make out. The Jiyars' work seems to have been almost entirely confined to the public cultured as well as the illiterate. They did not look to royal patronage, although in course of time some of the petty rulers became their disciples. The matham is now-a-days known as the Ahobila

THE VYASARAYA MATHAM

matham; but in our inscription, it is described simply as Van Sathagopin Matham

THE VYASARAYA MATHAM.

The third matham which comes to notice is the Vyāsarāya matham. The Swami of the Matham who first appears in our inscription, is Srimat Vyāsa Tīrtha Sripāda Udayār. He bore the titles of Srimat Paramahansa Parivrajakāchārya Pada vākya pramānagnya Dhuvāda garva sarva svā pahāra, Srimad Vaishnava Siddhānta Pratishthapanāchārya Sakala vidvajjana manah padmanavana-saupasthikar. There are three inscriptions, Nos III 157, 158 and 159 all dated 12th January 1524 which relate to the grant of house sites in Triupati and Tirumalai respectively with libations of water, by Sri Virapiatapa Vira Kṛṣṇaraya Maharayar to this Swami for the construction of mathams in the two places. The Sthanattar of Tirumalai on the authority of the rāyasam sent by the Emperor, it is stated, handed over the sites to the Swami. In the third inscription they were also ordered to hand over daily to the Swami the donor's share of the prasadam due to the Emperor, viz. 15½ prasadams, 2 akkāli mandai, 26 appam, 26 atirasam, 1½ palam chandanam 75 areca nuts and 150 betel leaves, for the maintenance of the matham. How there came to be a donor's share is also described. Kṛṣṇadevarayar had previously granted to Sri Venkatesa the tax known as pērāyam collected every year during Pūattāsi Brahmotsavam at Tirumalai. He had

also granted half the village of Kadaikūttanpādi situated in ul mandalam and the six villages of Talapākkam Pirādam, Dārattūr Mudiyūr, Satrapādi and Turaiyūr situated in pura mandalam. It was from the offerings made out of the income from these sources that the quarter share of the prasadam became due to the Emperor and it was this quarter share that was transferred to Vyasa Tīrtha Śrī Pada Udayar to be used in his Matham obviously for feeding his Śiṣhyas, although not specially so stated in the inscription *இவ் வு-த்தெரு ஐந் ஸ-தநீசு சாஸ்திர*

It is not known whether Śrīpāda Udayār who was the founder of this matham had come to Tirupati from any other place where he had already a matham. It is generally believed that the first matham established by him was at Tirumalai and Tirupati and that it was established in 1524 A. D. Whatever that might be we find him making in that year an endowment of 14000 panams (III 115 8-11-1524) to be expended on the excavation of irrigation tanks in the temple villages and from the proceeds of these villages to make certain food offerings to Tiruvengadamudaiyan and Govinda rajaswami. The days selected for festivals in Tirumalai were 222 in number made up of 96 days of the eight Brahmotsavams, Summer festival Kōṇai Tirunai 20 days Adhyananotuvam 24 days Unjai Tirunai 5 days, Tiruppavitra Tirunai 5 days Fkadasai Tirunai 25 days Sahasra kṛṇasabhishekam 5 days, Māsa sankramanams 12, Amavasya 13 days,

ENDOWMENTS BY VYASARAYA

Yugādi and Deepāvali 2 days, Pādīya Vēttai 1; Trukkārtigai 1, Krishna's Rōhini 13; Total offerings 222 appa padi. Similarly in Tirupati his endowment made provision for food offerings on 132 days. Besides the above, he also granted Siyala pāndur and Pasuvāsam villages in Padainādu Sūmai for daily offering to Sri Govindaraja, of 8 tirupponakam, 40 aieca nuts, 80 betel leaves and one palam chandanam. The donor's share of all the appams he took himself. From what was offered on Yugadi and Deepavali days in Tirupati to Sri Govindaraja, he gave a portion to some temple servants and the rest to the 12 nirvahams and 4½ vagai. From out of the 8 prasadams to Sri Govindaraja daily and from other sources given by the Sthanattar the Vyasaraya Matham was to get 4 prasadams daily for free distribution in the Mahtam. That Sri Vyasatnitha Sripada Udaiyar, who could not be expected to attach any importance to the Tamil prabandhams included 24 days of Adhyayana Utsavam among the festivals of his benefaction shows that he desired to respect the sentiments of the Sthanattar and the Sri Vaishnavas. The recital of the Vedas was only on 10 days of this festival.

He made a second endowment (III. 175; 2nd April 1528) by granting the Village of Oddampattu for conducting festival to Sri Govindaraja on the 13 full-moon days in the year with torch light procession. The food offering on each occasion was 14

tirupponakam There are three points of special interest in this inscription

(1) He describes himself as (the disciple of) Karakamala Sanjāta Śrīmat Brahmanya tīrtha Śrī pada Udaiyar (2) This is the first instance we have in our inscriptions which gives the cash rent or income of a village Here Oddampatti is stated to give 60 rekhai pon as the annual income (3) Full details are also given of the provisions to be supplied for the festival The Swamiji received the donors quarter share in full We are able to appreciate the Swamiji's attempts to make himself acceptable to all Śrī Vaiṣṇavas He did as much in Śrī Govindarāja's temple as in Tiruvengadamudaiyan's

EKAKIS

Two of these named Ekaki Tiruvēṅkatayyan and Ekaki Pattarpiran Ayyan, made three endowments amounting in all to 620 panams between 4-5-1514 and 21-10-1523 These were made in connection with certain festivals in Nannimalvar temple and for Śrī Venkateṣa. The beneficiaries of the donors share were the donors the Iyal chanters and the Sthanattar

It will be seen from the above analysis that the Śrī Vaiṣṇava Mathams favoured their own Iyal reciters and sect people and that Viṣṇuśaṅkara preferred his own followers. Ekakis are Śrīvaiṣṇavas who are widowers left in this world all alone without any family encumbrance which is the root

SCHOLARS

meaning of the word. It should not be confounded with the term *Ēkaṅgis* which in later times came to be used to designate the four assistants to the *Jiyais* who were also to be elected from amongst widowers but not men without the encumbrances of brothers and children dependent on them. There were among these *Ēkaṅgis* Brahmmins and also *Sāttāda* Śrī *Vaiṣṇavas*.

SCHOLARS.

Among the great-scholars who came to Tirumalai in Śrī Kṛṣṇadevarāya's train in 1514, were. (1) *TĀLLAPAKKAM PEDDA TIRUMALAIYĀṆGAR* scholar, poet and musician, son of Tallapakkam Anṇamāchārya whose *sankuṭhanams* are so well known in Tirumalai and Ahōbīlam, (2) Yagna Nārāyaṇa Bhattar, son of the Emperor's personal puohit Ranga Dikshitar.

We learn from No 66, Vol III that the former's native village Tallapakkam was granted to Tiruvengadamudaiyan by the Emperor on 6-7-1514. He is said to be a member of the well known Nandavarika Brahman family, the family to which the poet-laureate Allasani Peddanamātya belonged. His first endowment to Tiruvengadamudaiyan was made on (III 122) 30-11-1517. It consisted of 1500 panams for providing one food offering daily. The amount was to be utilised for improvement of the water supply in the Tiruvidaiyattam villages and the increased proceeds used for the offering. Like many of the Desantri donors, he gave away 1 unit out of the donor's share to be shared by the Stha-

MERCHANTS

As was usual with the merchants the endowments made by them were handsome And as they invariably aimed at keeping the Sthanattar well pleased the donors share of the prasadam was invariably made over by them to the 12 nirvahan and $3\frac{1}{2}$ vagai in equal proportions. The names of the donors etc are —

No	4 and 118	Sittamu Setti	18090 panams
	11 and 12	Tippu Setti	8905
	16	Pachchi Lingu Setti	5030 ,
	28	Pappu Setti Ayyan	2500
	119	Kondu Setti	(Chinatayapalli villago half
	171	Sarunu Setti	3700 panams

It is not necessary for our purpose to enter into the details of the prasadams and the occasions on which they were to be offered *The point to note is that so far as the Dēśāntri or the bonafide pilgrim was concerned there was no free distribution He was always forced to purchase the prasadams from one or the other of the Sthanattar the Vagai people the Nambimar or the Iyars*

There are seventeen more inscriptions showing endowments made by devotees amounting in the aggregate to 39800 panams Out of these one is for 11000 panams and another is for 4700 The others are mostly for about 1000 panams each In six out of the 17 instances the donor took to himself the quarter share In one case the donor handed

over his share to his spiritual Guru Eechchambadi Appayvangai. In all other cases it was the Sthanattar and the Vagai who were made the beneficiaries.

It is noteworthy that in two instances the Tiruppani Bhandarattai stepped in as Trustees and executed the silāsāsanam accepting the gift. The position of the Sthanattar appears to have been thus challenged. In one case the donor was one Sinnappa Reddi of Pūtalapattu, who on the occasion of a Solar Eclipse (III. 167, 17-1-1527) made a gift of valuable wet lands for the merit of Krishnadeva Maharayar. He gave the donor's share of the food offerings to the Tiruppani Bhandarattar. In the other case (III 178; 19-11-1528) the disciples of the Van Sathagopan Matham deposited 260 panams into the Tiruppani Bhandaram Treasury as capital for certain paruppaviyal food offering. The donor's share in this case was divided between the Iyal recitors and the Tiruppani Bhandarattar. It was therefore becoming clear that the *Tiruppani Bhandarattar were setting themselves up as rivals to the Sthanattar perhaps encouraged by the attitude of the Emperor.*

There are two more inscriptions, III 180 · Saka 1450 and III 206, which deserve notice since they make reference to 'Sri Vira Krishna Maharayar' and 'Rājaparamēśvara Sri Vira Pratāpa Sri Vira Krishnadevarayar ruling the Earth'. The latter is an endowment by one Pīlaiporuttar and the former

by one Perumal Nedungunram, both private individuals. They are both incomplete inscriptions.

We may safely infer from all the above facts that the Sthanattar were losing their moral and even their legal status in the temple administration during the reign of Sri Krishnadevaraya and that the Tiruppani Bhandarattar were rising in importance. We shall examine the reason for this in greater detail at a later stage.

The points to be noted in connection with the administration of the Tirumalai Tirupati Temples during the reign of Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Krishnadeva Maharaya are

(1) Tiruvengadamudaiyan was embellished with jewels and ornaments in an unprecedented manner. His Ananda Nilaya Vimanam was gold gilded and costly pitāmbaram, kullāvu etc. were presented to Him.

(2) In memory of his late father and mother Krishnadevaraya instituted the Tai Brahmotsavam. Like his predecessors he and his two queens instituted daily sandhi offerings, known as Krishnaraya avasarams. The quarter share of the prasadam due to the donor were excepting such portion as was given to his purohitis transferred to his own satram to be expended there under the supervision of the Tiruppani Bhandarattar (6-7-1514). Later in 1524 even this arrangement was superseded by handing over the prasadam to Sri Vyasa Tirtha Sripada Udavar to be utilised in his Matham for the feeding of pilgrims.

SALIENT POINTS DURING KRISHNADEVA'S REIGN

(3) Krishnadevaraya does not appear to have paid a visit to the temple of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati nor did he make any endowments for that temple.

(4) None of the shrines dedicated to the Acharyas and Saints or Alvars received his notice ;

(5) He did nothing to create the suspicion or impression that he had a special leaning to any of the Hindu religious sects

(6) His making a gift of house sites in Tirumalai and Tirupati to Sri Vyasa Tirtha Sripada Udayar as dānam (ਦਾਨம் உதயரது) and issuing a rayasam (or edict) to the Sthanattar, does not indicate any reverence for an acharya of Vyasa Tirtha Sripada Udayar's sanctity. The permission to construct a matham and the handing over of prasadam for feeding pilgrims there may connote only a certain amount of trust in a Sanyasin, at a time when the Sthanattar of the Temple had lost the Emperor's confidence

(7) The Emperor as well as his senior officers, showed, in dealing with the disposal of the donor's share of their endowments, a tendency to see if the Tiruppani Bhandarattar would prove a more trustworthy agency for the free distribution of food to pilgrims

(8) The usual tendency of those seeking the favour of the Emperor to make endowments "for the merit of" the king was less noticeable during Krishnadevaraya's reign. But a full statement of

the prasasti is rarely met with excepting in his own inscriptions or those made by men in his personal service.

(9) It may be specially noted that the inscriptions relating to the grant of house site etc., to Sri Vyasa Tirtha are in the Tamil script and executed by the Sthanattar and not by the Emperor directly by an edict.

(10) No temple functionary and no native of Tirupati seems to have acquired any influence with the Emperor or to have approached him for any favour. None of the Acharyapurushas made any endowment during his reign. No one seems to have approached him or sought any favour of him.

(11) Krishnadevaraya instituted no new festival which could go to benefit the Sthanattar and the other temple servants either in the way of paniya ram or cash payments (Tirunum Kanikkai or Tiruk kai Valakkam).

(12) The one festival if it may be so called, which he instituted was the conversion of the bi-monthly Pulugu Kappu function (Friday Tiru manjanam) into a weekly one (Friday) (పెనుల పులుగు కప్పు) by allocating therefor the sunkam from Godagurnadu amounting to 1000 varahas yearly. This is the only function which has stood the test of time. He also set apart 500 varahas for conducting morning food offerings (పొడి పెనుల).

As a far seeing man Krishnadevarayar kept even those for whom he had the greatest affection

SALIENT POINTS DURING KRISHNADEVA'S REIGN

viz his brothers and their children away from his capital Vijayanagar and amidst the religious surroundings of Chandragiri and Thumalai evidently in order that no mischief maker could poison their minds and make them commit evil acts, or entertain evil designs, which might endanger the peace and tranquillity of the Empire. But this had its own disadvantage for the Empire and for the Temple, as will be seen when we examine Achyutaraaya's period



CHAPTER XIX

ACHYUTARAYA MAHARAYA AND THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE.

In writing the history of this temple during the Vijayanagar period it is convenient to divide it into periods which correspond to those of the Emperors of Vijayanagar. During the period when Saluva Narasimha was the Viceroy in Chandragiri say from 1450 A D till he became the de facto the Emperor in 1485 the history of the temple is concerned more with Saluva Narasimha than with the Emperor at Vijayanagar. His son became the Emperor and was in turn succeeded by Narasa Nayaka's son Vira Narasimha. Neither of these played a great part in the history of our temple. Vira Narasimha is said to have planned the attempt to put out the eyes of Krishnadeva and thereby assure the throne for his young son. But God willed it otherwise and Krishnadeva succeeded in ascending the throne. His faith in Tiruvengadamudaiyan was very firm as we have seen. But that faith did not prevent him from trying in his turn to put out of the way all who were likely to contest his claim to the throne. He therefore kept under detention and surveillance his late brother's young son as well as his half brothers Achyuta and Ranga in the fortress at Chandragiri. Some go to the extent of saying that the latter were

ACHYUTARAYA—EFFECTS OF HIS DETENTION

actually imprisoned. There is however nothing to support such a statement. On the other hand Achyutaraya seems to have had all opportunities and facilities afforded for religious and cultural studies and also for relaxation by acquiring a taste for Abhinaya and Bharata Nāṭya. Achyuta has given ample proof in our inscriptions to justify the assumption. It seems to have been a carefully thought out scheme of Kṛṣṇadevaraya to place before Achyuta two avenues of instruction and enjoyment. There was on the one side the quasi spiritual side, the details of temple worship and the study of Vaiṣṇavism and on the other side there was the Bharata Nāṭya and music of the Emperumānadiyārs of the temple. Achyuta was probably expected to follow one of these avenues. But he seems to have followed both. We see him giving tangible proofs of this the moment he ascended the throne.

Achyutaraya was as much the son of the great soldier Narasa Nāyaka as were Vīra Narasimha and Kṛṣṇadēvaraya. But his virtual internment in the Chandragiri fortress and his association for a period of about 16 years of the most impressionable period of his life, with temple worshippers and Emperumānadiyārs, seem to have so deadened the warlike instinct in him that, when after ascending the throne, he led an expedition against his rebel subordinates into the Tiruvadi Rājyam, his brother-in-law Sālakam Timmarāja found it expedient to treat him more like a 'UTTARA KUMĀRA' and make him stay behind at Sri Rangam, worshipping

the God and to take into his own hands the prosecution of the campaign to a successful conclusion Krishnadēvarāya after the death of his young son in or about 1525 A. D. liberated Achyuta and the whole family from the Ohandragiri fortress and commenced the process of educating Achyuta in the art of Government.

What would have been Achyuta's feelings when on one fine morning he was taken out of the fortress and asked to play the part of a Regent of the Crown? He had been continuously worshipping Tiruvēngadamudaiyan for about 16 years and had no idea of individual freedom much less of being associated in the Government of the Empire. His belief would have been that Tiruvēngadamudaiyān made Krishnadēvarāya to relent and that it was the reward for his continued devotion to God. Forgetting the past Achyuta proved faithful to Krishnadēvarāya. And in 1529 it is said that he was with the best wishes of his brother ordained in Tirumalai as the future Emperor and given an Abhishōkam in the presence of Tiruvēngadamudaiyan with the sacred water of the Sankham used for God's service. We have to realise the importance of this consecration and why Krishnadēvarāya preferred that way of celebrating the event. He knew that he had worked against such an event ever coming to pass and had done all he could to retain the succession to his own son. But God had willed it otherwise. Krishnamayn would have realised it when his son died. Achyuta was fully aware that it was not

through any effort on his part that he was going to become the Emperor. It was something unexpected. It was God's will. So it was in the fitness of things that his first Pattābhishēkam should be done by Tiruvēngadamudaiyān Himself. When next it was repeated in Kalahastī, we have to note it was because Kṛṣṇadēvaraya had faith in the God there and had paid many visits to that temple also. Achyutaraya was too much of a Śrī Vaiṣṇava to have thought of going to Kālahastī of his own free will.

Before going up the Tirumalai Hill for the Pattābhishēkam, Achyuta would necessarily have taken a purificatory bath in the waters of the Alvar Tīrtham. He should have found the pond in a condition not worthy of its sacred tradition. It is therefore likely that he would on that occasion have given orders for the construction of the cut-stone steps and the Sandhyavandana Mantapams. A trilingual edict shows that the work was completed and opened for the public on 25-6-1531 A.D.

The Devasthanam Epigraphist (page 220 of the Report) remarks: "Thus Achyutaraya appears to have been crowned thrice successively once at Tirumalai immediately on release from his confinement in the Fort at Chandragiri, for the second time at Kalahastī and finally with all ceremonial and pomp at the capital city of Vijayanagar, all the three within an interval of about a month during October-November 1529 A.D." But Dr S Krishna-swami Iyengar states (page 201, part II of History

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

of Tirupati) ' the son (Krishnaraya's son) died early in 1525 A. D. Soon after records in the name of Achyuta begin to appear. Achyuta seems to have been carrying on the administration for his brother during a period of illness, or perhaps absence. Whatever it was, during the last five years of Krishna's administration, Achyuta was associated with him. Another person who comes into view about this critical period is Ramaraya already spoken of as the son-in-law, whether he was actually the son-in-law or not we find him associated with the administration from 1525 A.D.

The coming of Aliya Ramaraya to power along with Achyuta coincided with the fall of the great minister Saluva Timma from power, all apparently the result of the death of the prince Tirumala. It seems the administration was actually carried on by Achyutaraya, even when Krishna was actually exercising authority.

From the above extracts we may perhaps opine that Krishna suspected that in some way or other his prime minister Saluva Timma was privy to the untimely death of his son Tirumala, that he realised the folly of keeping Achyuta Ranga and the other members of his own family in prison and that since Achyuta would be the lawful successor to the throne and since his conduct during the long term of imprisonment showed no sign of hatred or disloyalty he immediately associated him in the Government of the country. Achyutaraya's apparent devotion to Tiruvengalanatha and the orthodox way of life

ACHYUTARAYA ORDAINED IN TIRUMALAI TEMPLE

which he had acquired during his detention might have made a favourable impression on Krishna. So he had him consecrated in the Tirumalai temple by having water from the hand of God Himself sprinkled over him with the appropriate mantras for Paṭṭābhishêkam. We have every reason to believe that he had panchasam-kāram, for one of our inscriptions refers to his Queen Varadajamman giving away her quarter share of prasadam to her acharya (perhaps Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Kumāra Tāttayangar). Her brothers were also the spiritual disciples of the same acharya.

Achyutaraya has had no training either on the battlefield or on the administrative side. On the religious side he was not well read. All his knowledge seems to have been limited to a superficial acquaintance with the āchārams or practices and the general outline of temple worship. We will have occasion to point out the blunders he committed in connection with temple worship in Tirumalai.

Appointment of Muddu Kuppai for doing dancing service in the temple.

The first act of Achyutaraya, perhaps even before he was formally crowned in Vijayanagar in November 1529, was to order the construction of the cut-stone steps, Sandhyavandana mantapam etc., for the Alvar Tirtham pond. We shall have to say more about this later. But his first formal act as Srīman Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Sri Virā

Pratāpa Sri Vira Achyutarāya Maharaya was to send to Tirupati one Muddu Kuppāyi daughter of Vidvat Sabhārāya ranjakam Kuppāsāni on Tuesday Bahula Sashti of the Tamil month Mithuna in the cyclo year Khara, Saka 1453¹ with a rāyasam to the Sthanattar of the Tirumalai Temple ordering that Muddu Kuppāyi was to perform ūdigam (service) in the Tiruvengadamudaiyan temple from that day onwards as long as the Sun and the Moon last and that she and her descendants should be in receipt of one taligai prasādam daily from the temple of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati for doing the service. The remuneration of one taligai expressed in money value of those days would be $\frac{1}{2}$ panam (say 3 annas) per day. The prasadam should therefore not be considered as fair or adequate remuneration. It was more a mark of honour for one who was perhaps the then living best exponent of Bharata nāṭya. Her mother Kuppāyini or (Kuppāsāni) was the daughter of Ranjakam Srirangaraya and grand daughter of Tirumalaīnatha, all of whom were the most famous exponents of Bharata nāṭya and great devotees of Tiruvengalanatha. Kuppāyini had made in June 1512 A. D. an endowment of 1000 panams for one Sandhi offering². Srirangaraja had made in December 1514 an endowment grant of Enalupundi for offering one tirupponakam daily. The family must have considered it a mark of honour that Muddu Kuppāyi should have been singled out to do service to Tiruvengalanatha and to be honoured

1 IL 6-6-1451 2 IL 4 3 IL 81

MUDDU KUPPAYI; DANCING SERVICE

with one taliga of prasadam daily Achyutaraya Makarava must have been under the impression that so famous a temple should have so famous a sām attached to it.

There may be readers who would like to know *why the existence of these Emperumānadiyārs or Tiruvāḍi Sams (a stal enquis) was tolerated.* According to the Agamas (all the agamas seem to be agreed on this) at a certain stage of the puja music and dancing should accompany the Kumbha Hārathi. Also during street processions at important places and at street corners there should be music and dancing. Before the Deity is taken back into the temple from the Vāhanam, Kumbha Hārathi should be offered and the whole party including the vestal virgins carrying the Kumbha Hārathi should perambulate the vahanam and the Deity before the Hārathi is actually handed over by the Emperumāndivir to the Archaka. But from the days of Sāluva Narasimha (we should rather say from the days of Emperumānār Jiyar) these women acquired greater importance. We have already seen how Kandāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangai made use of them to sing 'ula' songs in praise of him in the presence of Tiruvōngadamuḍaiyān. Although as a class they degenerated into prostitution, some of them have been known to be remarkably praiseworthy women. To render an Emperumānadiyār eligible for doing service, she must have had chakrāṅgitam (branding with red hot Sankham and

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Chakram) at the hands of an āchāryapurusha of the temple. Every such woman must therefore be a disciple of one of the āchāryapurushās. They maintain a code of morals and good conduct which they invariably have been known to observe. They were serving in these temples in the early part of the 13th century. They were later known as Tiruvidhi Sānis. Emperumānār Jiyar gave them (I 220, 1446 A.D.) a portion of the donors share of the prasadam. Vonkaṭavallī, daughter of Savariperumal, who was a damsel attached to the Vira Narasimha swami temple in Tirupati, made an endowment of 1000 panams in 1457 (II 5). Jakkula Kannayi, daughter of Tammu Nayakkar made in 1481 A.D. (II 7) an endowment of 1400 panams for food offerings. Valandī daughter of Tiruvidhiśani Ānaimadai is another donor of 300 panams in 14th (II 86).

During the reign of Kṛṣṇanadōvaraya Kuppayini (the mother of Muddu Kuppāyi) accompanied the Emperor to Tirupati. She seems to have visited Tirumalai as a pilgrim in 1512 even before Kṛṣṇadevaraya's advent to the place (III 24). After her visit in 1515 there seems to have been a change in the status of the Tiruvidhiśanis in Tirupati. Before that date they accompanied the temple processions and received wages therefor. After Kuppayini's advent there is no mention of Tiruvidhiśanis accompanying the procession or of being paid therefor. They seem to have restricted the display of their proficiency to within the temple limits only.

During the reign of Achyutharāya there were some notable women of this class who made endowments for food offerings. Govindasani made an endowment (IV. 5) of 300 panams in 1530. Again in 1534 (IV. 33) she made an endowment of 1620 panams for a daily food offering to Sri Govindaraja. A third time along with her sister Chikkāya Savāyi she endowed 1750 panams in 1535 (IV. 39) for offerings to Sri Govindaraja. There was another woman by name Pērchuchi (பேருச்சி) daughter of Sevvī who endowed 930 panams (IV. 41). Another lady Bejji daughter of Selvi endowed 900 panam (IV. 16). Hanumāsini was another lady specially sent by Achyutaraya and she made an endowment of 820 panams in 1540 (IV. 142).

But the most remarkable figures were one Tiruvēnkata Mānickam and her sister Lingāsāni, both daughters of one Tippāsāni or Tiruvēnkata-dāsi. They owned a garden and mantapam in Tirumalai. They made a series of endowments of 330 panam, 230 panam, 1650 panam and 1600 panams between the years 1533 and 1545 A.D. The climax was reached by Tiruvēnkata mānickam during the reign of Sadāsivarāya Mahārāya, when Tiruvengadamudaiyān's own palanquin or Dandigai was presented to her by the Sthanattar for her personal use. We shall have to refer to this in greater detail in the next chapter. She was also allotted one taligai of prasadam daily in Tirumalai and in Tirupati to be taken and delivered at her door. The advent of such remarkable women to Tirupati began in the

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time of the Emperor Sri Virapratāpa Achyutarāya Maharaya in 1531 A.D. The last we hear of them was in 1548 A.D.

After about 1548 A.D., they do not figure in any of our inscriptions either as donors or as beneficiaries. The star seems to have set with Tiruvēnkata mānīcam Achyutaraya's special interest in introducing Mudda Knppāyi seems to have resulted in their complete exit from the temple after 1548 A.D. There is nothing in the inscriptions to warrant us to draw the inference that any one of them exercised an undesirable influence in the temple. On the other hand, they seem to have been ardent devotees of Tiruvēngadamudaiyān making endowments for food offerings on festival occasions in garden mantapams constructed by them. The donor's share of the prasadam was distributed by them for deserving Sri Valsinavas engaged in temple services and for their own āchāryas.

Alvar Tirtham construction of cutstone steps and Sandhyavandana mantapam.

During the many years of his internment in Chन्द्रagiri Achyutarāya Maharaya would have been attending the Valkasi and Āni Brāhmōtsavamams of Sri Govindarāja including the Tirthnvāri function in the pond formed by the waterfall which at least since the days of Sri Ramanuja seems to have been called the Chnkm Tirtham or the (Tiruvāli) Ālvār Tirtham. The only early reference to this pond in our inscriptions is in Grantha characters on the

ALVAR TIRTHAM CONSECRATION

inner west wall of the Nammālvār shrine at Ālvāi Tirtham (I 58 1287 A.D.) The inscription does not name the pond. It simply says (tata parisūre) on the bank of the pond (a muni lives). It must have been originally just like the other ponds formed by the numerous waterfalls on the Tirumalai Hills, say like the Malayāṁ Gundam in Tirupati. Again on the north wall of the first prakaram of Sri Govindarajaswami temple in Tirupati is an inscription in san-krit (Grantha characters) which gives the year in chronogram and is made out to be Saka 138⁰ (corresponding to May-June 1467 A.D.)¹ The gist of the inscription seems to be that with the holy waters of that pond wherein a bath purifies the devas and mortals of all sins, Snapanā Tirumanjanam (bath according to Agama rites) as prescribed by Sri Ramanujarya was performed for Sri Govindaraja, Bhū Dēvi and Sri Dēvi.

It is a known fact that the Govindaraja temple had no Pushkarni (or holy tank) attached to it till the present Govinda Pushkarni (or Kṛṣṇanāyan Koneri) appears to have been excavated and consecrated. From the day of installation of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati, the waters of the Ālvāi Tirtham after consecration by Sri Ramanuja were used for His daily bath and Tiruvārāadhanam. Every Sri Vaishnava is familiar with the daily consecration of the water in which he bathes, invoking all the 33 crores of sacred waters sanctified by the Devas to flow into the water in which he is

¹ (II 29 Saka 1 39)

bathing Śrī Ramanuja must obviously have done this consecration once for all associating therewith the Chakrattālvār (Sudarsana) known in Tamil as Tiruvāḷi Ālvār Hence the pond was familiarly known as Ālvār Tirtham. The name has perhaps nothing to do with Nammālvār whose temple was also consecrated close by on its banks Achyuta raya may have feared that if left uncared for, the new Govinda Pushkarini in Tirupati might eventually gain greater importance than Ālvār Tirtham

It was the rather untidy condition of this sacred pond where every year during the two Brahmotsavams, Sudarsana Ālvār bathed to sanctify the waters for the public to have their bath on the occasion of the Tirthavari, that engaged the personal attention of Achyutadeva Maharaya even before he actually ascended the throne He had the holy tank properly constructed with flights of cutstone steps (చేపాక పండ్రి) and Sandhyavandana mantapam all round (పండ్రి) and had Sudarsana stones planted at the four corners (చతుర్ముఖం) The inscription¹ is in three languages Telugu Kanarese and Tamil The Telugu and Kanarese call it the Divya Tirtham of Tiruvōngalanātha The tamil version says Tiruvōngadamudaliyan's Divya Tirtham called Ālvār Tirtham in Tirupati తಿరువొంగదముదలియ
 యదివైదియ తిరువొంగదముదలియ యదివైదియ
 యదివైదియ యదివైదియ యదివైదియ Achyuta Maharaya (the inscription says) for his own four fold parushārtham got performed the punah pratishṭha (reconsecration) Even the Telugu

CONSTRUCTION OF CUT STONE STEPS & MANTAPAMS

inscription calls it 'Tirupati Chakratīrtham which is Tiruvengalanātha's Divya Tīrtham.' All inscriptions say that the function was Punah pratishta

The construction of the cutstone steps with the conduit for the exit of the flowing waters and the Sandhyavandana mantapams on three sides would have taken at least a year's time. The reconsecration of the tank was performed on 25-6-1531 A.D. and the orders for construction should therefore have been given soon after Achyutaraya's coronation in Tirumalai about November 1529 A.D.

The term Tiruvengalanātha Divya Tīrtham requires some elucidation. The Tirumalai Hill contains many waterfalls and every one of these is considered sacred. This is because the Hill itself is sanctified by the Holy Feet of Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān who is standing thereon. Every water stream therefore issues from His Feet and becomes His Divya Tīrtham.

That the Tīrthavāri festival of Sri Govindaperumāl takes place in 'Ālvār Tīrtham' is distinctly mentioned in another inscription also (IV 49. 1535) Sri Govindarajan being taken to "Alvar Tīrtham" on Garudavāhanam is also specifically mentioned in yet another inscription (IV 169, 1542). In connection with Nammālvār festival celebrated by Tāllapākkam Tirumalai Ayyangar, distinct mention is made of the fact that on the bank of the Ālvār Tīrtham Nammālvār's car festival took place (V. 34 19-3-1544). Again there is reference to Tiruvāl

Alvan being taken to Ālvār Tīrtham on Kārtikai festival day in Tirupati (V 66 1546) and also of Śrī Govindaraja on Makara Sankramanam day. The installation of Śrī Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Perumāḷ in the Tīrthavāri mantapam situated on the bank of Ālvār Tīrtham is of a later date (V 68 1546). That Ālvār Tīrtham is Tīruvēṅgadamudaiyāns Divya Tīrtham got accentuated by the construction of His Shrine in the 4th cave above the waterfall and Potlapāṭi Timmaraja made a daily food offering for the Deity there (V 92 3-6-1547). In 1'28 Matla Anantaraja established an annasatram at Ālvār Tīrtham (VL 25 1628 A.D). For the first time on 10-2-1865 Mahant Dharma Dass called it Kapila Tīrtham¹.

It was Achyutaraya Maharaja that made the appearance of this tank, worthy of its sacred character. It really seems to have had no name until Śrī Ramanuja sanctified its waters with the aid of Sudarṣana Alvan. To call it Kapila Tīrtham is a misnomer but Śaivites may prefer that name.

The Silasānam is trilingual and made by the Emperor himself and not by the issue of a Rāyaṣam to the Sthanattar. It is a misstatement when in the Report of the inscription (by the T. T. Devasthanam) p. 224 it is mentioned that Achyutaraya renamed Kapila Tīrtham as Chakra Tīrtham.

ACHYUTARAYA PERFORMED SRINIVAŚA
SAHASRANAMA ARCHANA WITH HIS OWN
HANDS. IV. 16 ; 31-1-1533 A.D.

What was however quite out of the ordinary and the only instance in the history of this temple was Achyutaraya's performing Srinivasa Sahasranāmārchana personally while the Nambimar (Archakas) was asked to recite the Sahasranāmams.² This took place about a year after the successful termination of his campaign against the ruler of Tiruvaḍi Rajyam (Travancore). It is common knowledge that the performance of the Archana is the special prerogative of the Archaka in any temple and that it would be considered an act of pollution necessitating a Samprokshana if any other person did it. Perhaps such a purification ceremony was performed after Achyutaraya finished doing the Archana and before the remaining items of daily worship were taken up. It may even be that after the daily worship was finished, Achyutaraya was allowed to do his own Archana, in which case also there must have taken place a purificatory Samprōkshana. Achyutaraya during the period of his internment in Chandragiri would have witnessed the performance of the Sahasranāmārchana soon after Tōmālaseva every morning and might have felt thrilled. The desire to do it himself must be attributed to his ignorance of or disregard for, Agamic

2 The right to recite the 1008 names and to perform the archana seems to have belonged to the archakas. A separate person is employed in recent times to recite the names.

propriety in such matters. Or what is more likely, Achyutaraya sincerely believed that having been chosen by God and consecrated with the waters from His Hand for the throne, he was spiritually fit to perform the archana in person. Krishnadevaraya instituted the weekly Friday Tirumanjanam in place of the bi-weekly one but did not attempt to do the Tirumanjanam himself. Neither the Archaikas nor the Sthanattar could have stood in his way if he had insisted on doing it. On this occasion Achyuta presented as his Ubhayam a Svarna Varsham for Tiruvēngadamudalyān just as Krishna devaraya also poured 30000 varabālu as Svarna Varaha. Snapanam Tirumanjanam might have been performed for the processional Deity also in the Mukha mantapam. He presented a large number of ornaments.' The details given in the Tamil

1 (a) two pairs of (some) gold ornament; (b) one pair of eye ornament (*செவ்வை செவ்வை*) (c) One string of taulkkay beads each bead weighing 10 units of gold, probably 62 beads. (d) one string of valldialkka beads, each bead weighing 10 units of gold (62 beads); (e) two Kapila pasu; (f) avarna Varsham (shower of gold); (g) a garland of 800 pearls; (h) one big kapha (garment) set with 703 pearls 33 rubies, 10 emeralds and 18 diamonds; (i) gold bangles (*கொண்டை* 4) (j) *கொண்டை* 18 (k) One pair Uch chippu for the head set with 122 pearls, 18 rubies 3 emeralds and 4 diamonds including 11 selected gems; (l) one Kūjjam ornament over the Sikkharam set with 709 black pearls (*கருப்பு*) emeralds 8 rubies 30 sapphire 1 (m) one pearl garland (*முத்து*) containing 600 pearls and 10 units of superior gold weighing 21 unit of gold Total 781 units gold weight including the Sirigai (gold lace) made of 8½ carat gold. (*அதாவது மத்தியத்திலுள்ள அந்த அந்தரங்கம் அந்தந்த இடங்களில் உள்ளவை*)

The Telugu script mentions:

ACHYUTARAYA PERFORMING ARCHANAS

inscriptions are not identical with those given in the Telugu, which latter happens to be much damaged.

What is of special interest in connection with this visit is his abnormal action of doing the archana himself, displacing the archaka

From the way the inscription ends, we have to conjecture that the Sthanattar would rather have suppressed incising the incident on stone but that they were probably commanded to inscribe

The Tamil inscription ends with the words :

“ As ordered this silasasanam ” (சட்டளைபண்ணிய சிலாசாஸனம், The usual ending should be “ இப்படிக்கு ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்கள் பணியால் கோயில் கணக்கு திருநின்ற ஊருடையான எழுத்தி. ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு.”

Although the two inscriptions give no indication of any daily food offerings having been instituted on this occasion, it has to be presumed that Achyutaraya did not fail to do it Perhaps he did it on the occasion of his coronation in Tirumalai in October 1529 itself Every Emperor from the days of Bukkaraya had done so

one Trisaram, six single sarams, containing 3 pearls, chakralu 500, some pratima, probably of Achyutaraya, (etc, which are not quite intelligible) Some gold in the name of Achyutaraya Maharaya some in the name of his son are also mentioned These show that Achyutaraya was accompanied by his Queen Varadajiamman and his son Kumāra Venkatādiri

LAKSHMIDEVI MAHOTSAVAM

(IV 54 55 26-12-1535 A.D)

The fourth incident that deserves notice is a new festival called Lakshmidēvi Mahōtsavam. The first of the two inscriptions describes it as "tirunāl (festival) for Tiruvengadamudaiyan and Alaimēl mangai Nāchchiyar (திருவெங்கடமுடையான் அலிமேல் மங்கை நாச்சியார்க்கும் திருநாள்). But the next inscription appears as a sort of post script or correction calling it 'Lakshmidēvi Mahōtsavam' to commence on (ankurarpanam) in Uttirattādī day and Sāttumurai Rōhini Nakshatram. What is noteworthy in the inscription is the manner in which Achyutadeva Maharaya's name is mentioned. He is described as "*Svami Achyutarāya Mahārāya in every place in the inscription* where the donor's name has to be mentioned. There seems to be a sting rather grim humour, in it. Achyutaraya's fancies appeared to the Sthanattar as being strange and he is described as Svāmi which is a term usually applied when referring to a spiritual leader. In an another endowment also by Sriranga Nayakkar for the merit of the King Queen and the Prince Achyuta raya is called Svami (IV 79 15-12-1536).

In the first inscription (No 54) the festival is described as Tirunāl for Tiruvēngadamudaiyan and Alaimōlmangai Nāchchiyar but when the details of the festival were being worked out there was no room there for Tiruvengadamudaiyan. So they seem to have obtained the Rayar's consent to call it

LAKSUMIDEVI MAHOTSAVAM

(No 55) "Lakshmīdēvi Mahōtsavam" Alamēlmangai was only a human incarnation of Lakshmīdēvi according to the Vēṅkatāchela Māhātmyam. So Alamēlmangai's name was replaced by Lakshmīdēvi. Somehow they wanted to introduce a festival and provide all the paraphernalia therefor. First and foremost a Lakshmīdēvi pratima had to be manufactured (as there was no such idol in Tirumalai) at a cost of 16 Rekhai pon. A pratima of Brahma for 1 R. P., Samprokshana 1 R. P.; for Soma Kumbham 5 panams, Brhma Mandalam and Sesha and other pratimas, cost 12 R. P. There was Āchārya Dakṣina, dakshina for Ritiwiks, invocation according to Sṛisūktam, Kalpa mantṛam, Lakshmī-sahasranāma Japa and Archana, Lakshmī Gāyatrī, Navagraha Pratimas 12 R. P., Havis, Pāyasam etc., for hōmam every day. Dakshina and Vastram for 10 Sumangalis; Vēda pārāyanam, Purānam reading etc., Daily 60 taḷigai, Tirukkanamadaḷ, 200 for 5 days, Atirasam daily 1 padi, appam, Vadaḷ, gōdhi, sukhiyan etc., These are to be offered while the installed Lakshmīdēvi was taken in procession to the seven mantapams constructed for the purpose, two each in the name of *Svami Achyutaraya* and *Varādaḷamman svami*, Kumara Chikka Venkatadrī mantapam, Narasanāyakkar and his wife Ōbachchi, one mantapam each. There was cash payment to be made for this new festival for yāgasālaḷ, tīruppani pillai, potters, kaikkōlar, sippiyar, carpenters, tēvaiyāl, singamurai, the twelve nīrvaham, panimurai, anusandhānam, tīruman kānikkai, kangā-

ṇippan viṇṇappam saivar, and kadaikkūṭtu Also Brahmana santarpana. It is refreshing to note that Emperumanadiyar did not find a place in this function

(The day of inscription is Śravana Nakshatra, the festival may have commenced in Uttarāṣṭādi, say Panchami tithi in Margali month)

The Ankurarpanam was to be in Uttarāṣṭādi Nakshatram and Sattumurai Rohini Nakshatram But the moath is not mentioned We presume it to be in the month Margali To celebrate this festival in Tirumalai for Lakshmi devi as apart from Tiruvei gadamudaiyan must have appeared incongruous even to the most accommodating Sihanattar But Svami Achyutaraya Maharayar had ordered it and allotted 300 Rekhai pon yearly being the Uttarāvam of Kondavidu Seema.

Because Achyutadeva Maharaya instituted this festival in Tirumalai in 1535¹ we find Namisetti, a merchant of Krishnarāya paṭṭanam Chandragiri town making an endowment of 175 panams for a similar festival for Sri Govindaraja (in January 1537 A.D.)

In connection with this festival in Tirumalai one of the Archakas Venkata tinnu handed over his portion of the daksina in connection with the festival as fund for the performance of certain hainkaryams to Tiruvei gadamudaiyan on other

¹ 15 95 30 1 1537

PUNARVASU FESTIVALS FOR SRI RAMA

festival days'. So he thought that he washed his hands of any sin he may have committed in accepting the dakshina. Ēkāki Srinivasayyan appears to have been the only Srīvaishnava who approved of this festival and he provided 1 dossai padi for the last day of the festival'.

Somebody must have pointed out to the Emperor that while instituting a festival for a non-existent Lakshmi in Tirumalai, he forgot the existence of Sri Rama with his consort Sita Devi and his brother Lakshmana. So on the same day 26-12-1535 another Silasasanam was made for 'O Rekai Pon', being Uttarāyam from the same Kondavīdu Sīmai for the celebration of a festival on every Punarvasu Nakshatra day with Panchakavya Abhishekam, street procession and food offerings soon after abhishekam.

Lakshmi-devi festival in Tirumalai looks like copying Saluva Narasimha's Anna-Uñjal (Dōla Mahōtsavam) Tirunal there for Malaikuniya ninra perumal and Nachchimar in 1473 A D.

SRI ACHYUTA PERUMAL AND ACHYUTARAYA PURAM. (Suburb of Tirupati).

The earliest inscription which tells us of the existence of a temple for Achyuta Perumal in Tirupati is to be found on the north wall (outer side) west entrance of a verandah of the old kitchen of

1. IV 136 17-9-1539

3. IV 58 26-12-1535.

2. IV 157 13-2-1541

Sri Govindaraja's temple. It is not anywhere in Achyuta Perumal temple and is dated Sāli Sakha 1458 Durmukhi, suddha navami of Makara month Asvini Nakshatra (17-1-1537) The Achyuta Perumal Temple at that time should therefore have been a new one with walls not yet fit to be inscribed upon. Considering that Achyutaraya Maharaya constructed the stone steps and Sandhya vaadana Mantapams of Ālvar Tirtham close by in 1531 and that he constructed the Achyutarāyan Kōneri in Tirumalai about 1533 A.D. it is not too much to assume that the Achyutaraya temple in Tirupati was consecrated at least sometime soon after these two. Anyhow it is found that in 1537 Nani Setti of Chandragiri (merchant) made provision for food offerings to Achyutaperumal on the Padiyavōṭṭai festival day in his mantapam in Pongalvōli. The Deity was therefore having the usual festivals also.

Nearly two years thereafter' on 8-2-1539 there was the temple with walls fit to be inscribed upon. On the south base of the ruined gopuram of this temple there is now found an inscription which states that Srīman Mahārājadhīrāja Rajaparamo svara Srī Achyutaraya Mahāraya erected the temple of Achyuta Perumal in a site of Kōṭṭur village purchased from Srī Vonkntesvara's Temple by paying 2100 panams as compensation for the site. For the daily worship of the Deity he granted the village of Parittiputtur dividing it into 20 shares. He made a gift of 100 houses to Brahmins with full

ACHYUTAPPERUMAL TEMPLE, FIRUPATI

rights of possession, sale, mortgage, succession, transfer and gift The other 20 house sites he gave to Brahmins who enjoyed also the 20 shares of the village assigned to the temple The boundaries of the site are also given in detail

Mention of this temple and village are also made in subsequent years

Vol V, 17, p 43, 14-6-1544

„ 53, „ 134, 15-7-1545

„ 68, „ 176, 20-6-1546 (Tirthavarı men-

„ 133, „ 336, 10-3-1552 tioned)

The last one mentions that Achyuta Pēṭṭai is a suburb of Tirupati The temple and the village have however fallen into ruins within four centuries of their construction The site would have been highly malarial The construction of a new temple while there was already one for Sri Govindaraja, requiring greater attention and five centuries older, must have also been against the wishes of the local people The attempt proved a failure and led to waste of money. *Achyutaraya's Koneri in Tirumalai also fell into disrepair, was filled up in recent times at huge cost and converted into a flower garden. Alṅār Tīrthhın alone prospered*

ACHYUTARAYAR KONERI IN TIRUMALAI.

There is no inscription to show the year of construction of the Achyutarayan Kōnēri in Tirumalai. The first reference to it is in connection with an endowment by *RĀYASAM RĀMACHANDRA*

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

DIKSHATAR dated 1-7-1533¹ His native village Agaram Kadalādī (which even today is its recognised name) received the surname of Kumāra Venkaṭādrī Samudram in memory of Achyutarava's son. He made a grant of Tamampakkam village with an annual income of 200 Rekal Pon for offering 8 tiruppōnakam daily and for certain other festivals to Tiruvēngadamudaiyān. On one of these Brahmotsavam festival days the Utsava Murti is said to be seated on the bank of Achvutarāyan Kōneri. The same donor on 13-8-1533 made a further endowment of 1000 panams for 4 tirupponakam daily and 13 iddili padis for the processional image while seated in the same mantapam on the 13 Rohini Nakshatram days in the year being his own birth star. He made another endowment (IV 59) on 26-12-1535² of 5000 panams which provides among other things 1 appapadi to Sri Krishna in his mantapam on the said Kōneri on every 5th festival day of all the Brahmotsavams.

ADAIPPAN VISVANATHA NAI AKKAR was another officer of Achyutarava who constructed a mantapam on the bank of this Kōneri and arranged out of his endowment of 15000 panam to offer one appapadi per day on the 13 days of all the 9 Brahmotsavams. This donor was the founder of the Madura Nāyār dynasty.

1. IV 5 17 1533
2. IV 26 26 1535

3. IV 81 1 1537

On the same date¹ as above *KRISHNAPPA NAYAKKAR* son of Chinnappa Nayakkar made a similar endowment of 15000 panams wherein also there was provision for exactly similar appa-padi offering (117) in a mantapam constructed by him on the bank of the same tank *BĀCHCHARASAY-YAR* son of Sriramiyyangar repeats the same² in his own mantapam on the tank bund So also *RĀMABHATTARĀYAN*, son of Bhūtnātha (Sishta) Sitta Bhattar; And *IMMADI ELLAPPA UDAIYAR* also³ *SĀLAKARĀJA SINGARĀJA* made an endowment of 15000⁴ panams for exactly similar purposes, but the inscription does not mention any mantapam constructed by him on the tank bund.

Probable date of construction of Achyutaraya Koneri.

Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar (Junior) who was the first to endow a wooden car for Sri Periya Raghunatha of Tirupati for the merit of Achyutaraya, made another endowment wherein provision was made for food offerings to Tiruvēngadamudaiyān on several festival days and in various places, including a mantapam on the bank of Malluraju's tank Tāllapākkam Tirumalai Ayyangar while endowing 4½ villages in 1530 A.D for a number of offerings on various occasions, included among the latter one appa padi on the day of what is called Achyutaraya Tūnāl and in front of his Sankir-

1	IV 82, 12-1-1537	5	IV 1. 1530
2	IV 83, 12-1-1537	6	IV 3 1530.
3	IV, 84, 86, 12-1-1537	7	IV 6 15 0
4	IV 88, 12-1-1537		

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

tana Bhandaram in the temple also for 13 appa padi on the 13 birth Nakshatras of Achyutaraya Mrigasiraha. There is no reference to any mantapam or even the Achyutaraya Koneri Rayasam Ramachandra Dikshitar among the objects of his endowment of Tamarakkam village mentions the offering of appa padi on each 7th festival day of the 9 Brahmotsavams while the processional Deity was seated in the mantapam constructed by him on the Achyutaraya Koneri Bank.

We may therefore assume that the Kōneri was constructed after 31-10-1530 and before 1-7-1533. From another inscription of the year 1532 (Saka 1451) we gather that Achyutaraya commissioned Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar to reconstruct the old tank తၢ်ပုၤတၢ်မၤသီၣ်မၤတၢ်မၤသီၣ်မၤတၢ်မၤသီၣ်မၤတၢ်မၤသီၣ်မၤ. We have to consider whether Achyutaraya who in June 1531 completed the reconstruction of the Alṅār Tirtham tank in Tirupati would have left the sacred tank of Tiruvōngadamudaliyān in Tirumalai in disrepair and would have asked Tallapākham Tirumalai Ayyangar in 1532 to carry out the repairs but himself undertook to construct a new tank in his own name, which he would have completed before 1-7-1533. There will however be nothing strange if had done so. In that case he may have commenced the excavation of his own tank some time in 1532 completing the same by about the middle of 1533 A D

1	IV	21	130	7	IV	21	
2	IV	23	1719	4	IV	23	1932 AD

PALACE INFLUENCE

Ramachandra Dikshitar may have superintended the construction, and built his own mantapam on the bank as the first one for the merit of Achyutaraya. There were subsequently as many as six mantapams all built before January 1537.

Other endowments of the value of 15000 panams by some of the other officers are shown in the annexure at the end of this Chapter.

PALACE INFLUENCE.

While so many officers instituted food offerings endowing the amount required therefor, there were *two ladies Adairppam Padmada Amman and Adairppam Rukmini amman* who (their official designation indicates they were betel-bearers to the monarch) made no payment but *arranged to get food offerings made on certain festival days every year at the expense of the temple itself, for their individual merit* The Sthanattar purchased from the temple funds two gardens, constructed stone compound walls therefor, raised garden in each, paying monthly wages for 3 gardeners and constructed a mantapam in each which Malaikuniya ninra Perumal should visit on the occasions referred to for receiving food offerings. *The capital cost of each of these was 518 Rekhai Pon.* From the date of the inscriptions, we have to infer that they accompanied the Emperor during his visit to the temple.¹

There is yet another inscription² of more or less of this type which does not state that any amount

1. IV, 56 and 57, 26—12—1535

2. IV, 125, perhaps late in 1539

was actually deposited with the Sthanattar for the services. This was in favour of one *Araviti Lakshmi-
amman* whose precise status in the harem of the monarch is missing in the inscription. The inscription provides for the purchase of a garden site for 45 Rekhai pon, the construction of a mantapam costing 500 Rekhai pon and pay of one gardner 6 R. P yearly for offering one appa padi on a day during each of the ten Brahmotsavams one atirasa padi on Hunting festival days and on another day also perhaps Mannasamudram festival. The date of this inscription must be some time after Periya Tirumalai Ayyangar instituted his Brahmotsavam in March 1539

Another incomplete one whose date can be guessed (but *the donor's name missing*), mentions the payment of 557 Rekhai Pon for the purchase of a garden site at Tirumalai for 500 R.P the remaining amount being the cost of a mantapam and stone compound walls and pay of a gardener. For offering 10 atirasa padi during the 10 Brahmotsavams every year and another 15 appa padi the capital amount deposited was 143 Rekhai Pon (Total 700 Rekhai Pon). The mention of 10 Brahmotsavams leads us to infer that the date must be soon after 1539 A.D.

There were also many endowments made by other classes of devotees besides the officers. *It may be of interest to see if during Achyutaraya Maharaya's reign the temple had greater patronage from*

ENDOWMENTS DURING ACHYUTARAYA'S REIGN

the public than in the reign of his predecessor, Krishnadeva Mahārāja. During both the periods in some cases the endowments were in the shape of grant of villages. Those endowed during Krishna's period do not state the annual net income whereas in Achyutaraya's period the annual income is given in Rekhai Pon in most cases. Again during the reign of Saluva Narasimha, the endowments were neither in cash nor in the shape of villages, but by the excavation of irrigation channels in the then existing temple lands (Tiruvīdaiyāttam and Sarvamānyam villages). What amount was expended on the excavation of these channels is in no case stated. Donors of this type were invariably men who had official influence as feudatory chiefs, or influential men like Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar. After the Saluva period this type of endowment is not in evidence, but is replaced by a cash payment to the Sthanattar (or the Tiruppani Bhandāram only during Krishnadeva Raya's time) charging them to utilise the amount for the excavation of, or repairs to, irrigation channels in temple villages. It was also pointed out that there were an appreciable number of endowments by the Emperor's officers which give an impression of having been forced contribution. All such amounts also were used for the improvement of irrigation sources, leading one to suspect that the exaction was for that purpose only.

It is worth while giving comparative figures of the endowments made during Krishnadevaraya's

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

and Achyutaraya's reign, under such headings as from Feudatory chiefs, officers of all grades, merchants etc..

	during Krishna s in panams	Aohyuta s in panams,
Feudatory Chiefs		34 600
Merchants	37 625	43 704
Officers	41,080	3 09,186
Poets and scholars	3 520	24 185
Jlyars and Ekakls	14,800	7,880
Maṭhādhipatis	14 000	
Achāryapurushas and other Brahmins connected with Temple	14 175	21 925
Nambinars	350	305
Temple servants(accountants etc)	7 800	7 910
Emparumanadivars	1 000	8,030
Other Devotees	32 800	8 753
	<u>1 67,150</u>	<u>4 96 478</u>

There is no inscription to show whether and what amount or which villages Achyutarayn gave for any food offering although his Queen has stated that her own food offering should be immediately after the offerings in the name of Krishnadeva and Achyuta. சிறுபடைமூலையன் என்கிற அரும வேந்தரு ஸ்ரீமதாச்சுதராயன் ஸ்ரீமதாச்சுதராயன் அரும வேந்தருடைய பிடிய அரும வேந்தருடைய உதவி கொண்டு (para 2 of inscription) But Varadaji informs

QUEEN VARADAJI AMMAN'S ENDOWMENTS

offerings were to the value of 920 Rekhai pon annually for which she endowed six villages in 1534 A.D. (IV. 29, 5-4-1534 A.D.).

Chinna Maḍappalūr (income 200 R P

Muttukur	200	"
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Paliva	200	"
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Valli	35	"
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Munganu	35	"
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Pamdapalle	110	"
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Other sources	140	"
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Yearly Total	920	Rekhai Pon.
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For this amount 20 tirupponakam, 1 tirukanamaḍai, 1 atirasa paḍi, 1 vadai, 1 siḍai, and 1 sukhiyan were to be offered daily. It will be seen that private endowments have been more lavish than those of the Emperor and the Empress in the matter of food.

The endowments made in cash as well as in the shape of villages have been far more in Achyutaraya's period than in Krishnadeva's. Figures relating to the number of sandhi offerings during the early periods, the period of Saluva Narasimha and those of Krishnadeva and all his successors will be shown separately at a later stage (see Sadasivaraya's period),

In the method of the disposal of the donor's one-fourth share and also of the other three-fourths share, there appears to be some change during Achyutadēva Mahāraya's period. In Saluva Narasimha's days and also for some time previous to

that, the one-fourth share of the donor used to be distributed among a number of people, even the Iyal Prabhandam people sometimes coming in for a share along with the 12 nirvahams, the 3½ vagais, the nambimars etc. But we found that Krishna deva Maharaya and some of his generals gave away the donor's share to the Tiruppani Bhandāratār also or even exclusively to them. A possible explanation for this deviation has already been suggested. But soon after Achyutadeva Maharaya became the Emperor a definite change is observed. It can be seen from almost every inscription that the donor's quarter share was appropriated by the donor. There is nothing to show how the donor disposed of his share. We have reason to believe that most of these donors were not residents of Tirumalai or Tirupatī and could not therefore possibly have received the prasadams daily in person. A few like the Emperor maintained their own satrams where the food would have been distributed free to the pilgrims. The smaller donors however could not have maintained any such agency. It might be that donor's share was taken over by the Sthanattar by private purchase or annual lease. Sale and lease of donor's share of the prasadams have been a feature of the temple.

Transfer of donor's share of prasadams by sale in perpetuity made by Saluva Timmarasa to
Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar

But an outright sale of donor's daily share of prasadams of all kinds for value received in cash

SALE OF DONOR'S SHARE OF PRASADAMS

would have been considered at the time an unusual and even unthinkable transaction between respectable men. Donors have been usually men in well to do circumstances who would consider it a pious act to distribute their share free to pilgrims in a holy place like the Tirumalai Hills. Even minor donors including the Emperumānadiyārs assigned their share (or a portion thereof) to deserving poor brahmins and Srivaishnavas who maintained flower gardens for the benefit of the temple, or appropriated the entire quantity for their own use. It was only the perishable variety of prasādams which accrued daily to the Sthanattar, Nambimar, jiyars and the temple cooks that was (in full or in part) leased out to men who made a living by the sale of these prasādams. These men went by the name Prasādakkārar Mahāmēdangal. Such leases were given from year to year and the Sthanattar as a body were not concerned in the transaction. An outright sale of the donor's share in perpetuity was an unheard of thing until in 1536 A.D. three such sales were registered by inscriptions made by the temple accountant (Tiruninra-ūr-udaiyar) on the walls of the temple. Although the name of the Sthanattar does not find place in the inscription their purpose was to have the transactions recognised and approved by them. There is no other instance of a similar sale in the history of this temple. These three sales therefore deserve special notice for more reasons than one—the circumstances which necessitated the sales and their registration

by the temple accountant the high social standing of the vendors and the vendee and the rather immediate reactions to such a transaction by, what appears to be, Aobyutarāya Maharaya, the Emperor

The vendors were the great Ex Pradhāni Sāluva Timmarasa (Appaji of the Rayar appaji fame) and his younger brother Govindaraja Timmarasa served as Pradhāni not only Sri Vira Krishnadeva Maharaya but also his elder brother Vira Narasimharayar Maharayar and possibly Immadi Narasimbaraya also According to accepted tradition he was responsible for saving Krishnadēva's eyes from being gouged out as planned and ordered by his elder brother Timmarasa therefore helped him to become the Emperor in succession to his brother He was also Krishna's respected trusted and famous Pradhāni The sudden death of Krishnadeva's only son the young prince Tirumala, in 1525 A.D. resulted in suspicion being cast against Timmarasa of complicity in a plot for poisoning which brought about the death¹ Timmarasa was removed from office and lived thereafter in obscurity The sales we are now considering bear testimony to the financial ruin which overtook the famous Pradhani His younger brother Saluva Govindaraja continued to be in the service of the Emperor The two brothers had made jointly and severally certain endowments between the years 1512 and 1524 A.D. in the temples of Tirupati and Tirumalai Timmarasa's wife Lakshmi

¹ The story is told by Nanda and repeated in Sewela Por gottu Prapna p. p 219 261

Ammangār also had made an endowment in 1511 in Tirumalai and the daily donor's share due to her on that account was assigned by her to her son-in-law Nāṇḍla Appayyan presumably living in Chandra-giri Timmarasa presented probably in 1512 A.D. a valuable pītāmbaram cloak for Śrī Venkatesa. He was greatly praised for this excellent gift in Sanskrit verses in an inscription in Govindarajasvāmī temple. He was also maintaining a flower garden in Tirumalai. Between the years 1525 and 1535 A.D. he seems to have got on some how in his seclusion. But his poverty was gradually driving him to the necessity of finding money by the sale of the one fourth share of prasadam which as a donor he was receiving all these years and which was being used for maintaining the flower garden and feeding a few hungry pilgrims. His own poverty was being kept under a veil. The great Pradhānī had ultimately to sell the donor's share in perpetuity to Tāllapakkam Tirumalai ayyangar—son of the great poet, bhakta and philosopher Annamayyangar—who perhaps was the only one in Tirumalai who could afford to purchase. The sale went in three instalments. The first sale was not of the donor's share on his own endowment but on that of his younger brother Govindaraja who was in service. Timmarasa acted for his brother, probably with his consent. It was probably hoped that it would not be construed as a sale forced by poverty or want.¹ The next sale is in inscription IV. 74 the date is not known as that part of the inscription is

IV, 72 26-2-1536.

at a height of over 35 feet in the Tirupati temple. This endowment had been made jointly by the two brothers. The third and the last sale¹ was the donor's share of Timmarasa's own endowment to Sri Venkatesvara made in 1512 A.D. at a time when he was the mahā pradhāni of Sri Krishnadeva maharaya. This was the last straw. The world came to know in all nakedness the depth of Timmarasa's poverty. There would have been great sympathy and astonishment. Thus within a period of ten months Timmarasa not only sold his brother's share of the prasadam and their joint shares but also the donor's share on his own endowment. Apart from these sales (Vikrayam) there were some prasadams, such as appams, atirasame and vadai occurring to Timmarasa on festival occasions which he gave away as free gift with libations of water to Tirumalai ayyangar and not as sale. The only stipulation to the gift was that Tirumalai ayyangar should continue to reside in Tirumalai and do service (Nitya sēva) to the Lord. சீர்தொண்ட முடையவன் சிவசேவா சீர்தொண்ட பண்ணிப்போன்ற பெருந்தொண்டையும் நெக்கு நிரை புகழ்வதும் ஸாத்வதும் பண்ணிப் போடுதோன் சிவசேவா பண்பா சிவசேவா சீர்தொண்டையுள் எலிசெய்வதற்குரிய நியமம். சீர்தொண்டையுள் எலிசெய்வதற்குரிய நியமம். சீர்தொண்டையுள் எலிசெய்வதற்குரிய நியமம். The amounts realised by the vendor by the three sales were 1000, 5203 and 1900 panams (total 1170 panams).

These transactions probably reached the ears of the Emperor Achyutarnya Maharayar and touched his heart. There is an inscription which probably

¹ IV 23; 211132

ACHYUTARAYA'S HELP TO TIMMARASA

records his reaction to the news. It is dated (IV. 89) 12th January 1537 (Friday sukla dvitīya of Makara month of Durmukhi year) and records that under the orders (or as desired by) of Achyutarāya Mahārāyar “அச்சுதராய மஹாராயர் அப்பனைப்படிக்கு புதுக்க ஸிலா ஸாஸகம் பண்ணிக் கொடுத்தபடி திருவேங்கட சேய்ந்ருளும்படிக்கு விட்ட மல்லாபுரம் கிராமம் ககரு இதில் விளைநச முதல் கொண்டு” The Structure of the passage in Tamil gives no room for asserting that the name of the donor is lost in the inscription Mallāpuram has always been a Tīruvidaiyaṭṭam village of the temple In 1475 A.D. (II 134) Kandadai Ramanuja ayyangar made some irrigation improvements and from the extra income thereby accruing performed certain daily services Now in 1537 A.D. Achyutaraya ordered the execution of a fresh Silāsāsanam (inscription) for utilising the income from the village for certain food offerings to be made on the 7th festival day of all the eight Brahmotsavams and for handing over the donor's one fourth share of the prasadams to ‘Appayyan’ after giving a portion to the gardener who was maintaining the flower garden, probably the one which was being maintained by Timmarasa Appayyan's identity is not described in the inscription, for at the time every one would have known that it was Nadandla Appayyan, the son-in-law of Timmarasa Achyutaraya's action was meant to be an indirect help to Timmarasa, done in a manner which would not wound his feelings.

The statement made in pp 194, 195 of the T. T. D Report (on the inscriptions) that Timmarasa

served as Pradhani during Achyutaraya's time also is not borne out by the inscriptions. From IV 153 dated 31-12-1540 it is seen that one Sōmarasayyar father of Dalavāy Timmarasayyar (Kāsyapagotra, Āsvalayana sutra and Rik-Sakha) was the Pradhani under Achyutaraya. He was probably appointed as Pradhani in 1525 A.D. after Saluva Timmarasa's dismissal. That Saluva Timmarasa was not Pradhani in 1536 A.D. when the sale transactions of the prasadam were made is gathered from the description given by him as vendor, viz., Rachiraja's son Saluva Timmarasayyar (V 93 *சலுவ திம்மராசைய்யர்* *சலுவ திம்மராசைய்யர்*). In his wife's endowment made in December 1511 (III 19) and in his own endowment made in 1512 (III. 21) he is described as Pradhani Saluva Timmarasayyanga. His brother Govindaraja made one endowment in 1522 as the dharmam of Krishnadevaraya and another in 1524 for the merit of his daughter. These endowments made by the brothers were all before 1525 when Krishnadeva's son was poisoned and Saluva Timmarasa was dismissed. When numerous endowments of large sums of money (15000 panams each) were made by Achyutaraya's officers and courtiers in 1536 and 1537 A.D. the names of Saluva Timmarasa and Saluva Govindaraja are not found among the donors. On the other hand they were selling away the donors' share of the endowments made in Krishnadevaraya's reign. Govindaraja's next endowment IV 166 was made on 5th November 1541. There is nothing in the preamble of the inscription

TALLAPAKAM TIRUMALAI AYYANGAR AS VENDEE

to show that he was then an officer under Achyuta-
raya. It probably was a thanks giving offering to Sri
Govindarajasvāmi on the eve of his safe retirement
from service. The donor's share of the prasadam
he took to himself and distributed the three quarter
Share to the temple servants and the 12 nirvahams.
If in 1536 A.D. Saluva Timmarasa was the Pradhan
he would not have committed (what would certainly
have been considered) the unbecoming act of selling
away even his brother's share of the prasadam.

We next turn to the vendee in the above trans-
actions

Tallapakkam Tirumalai Ayyangar was himself
a munificent donor, he reconstructed a ruined temple
in his village Alamēlmangāpuram and instituted
worship therein, he reconstructed the Svāmi Push-
karini in Tirumalai with cutstone steps and also the
prakaram and gopuram of the Varāhasvāmi temple
there. He instituted a new Brahmōtsavam in An-
nam in Tirumalai at a capital cost of 2000 vara-
hams. Such a man could not be mistaken for one
who made a living by sale of temple prasadam.
There is really something more interesting in the
transaction. Tirumalai Ayyangar was getting his
own quarter share from his endowment's for food
offerings. If he purchased something more from
others, it should have been that he needed it not for
cornering. There were more men of his kind in
Tirumalai during those days and even later. They
generally had large living quarters where pilgrims

were accommodated. Any one with pretensions to being a representative of theocracy of the day became the centre of attraction for pilgrims who in addition to some intellectual feast were treated also to temple prasadams to satisfy sentimental craving and hunger. Such prasadams as could stand transport to their native village were taken with them by the pilgrims. The spiritual teacher received valuable presents in return and would have been largely advertised abroad by the pilgrim who received the kind attention of the spiritual teacher at Tirumalai. Prasādam as an article of immediate sale was restricted to the cooked perishable class and was mostly handled by lessees whose presence in Tirumalai will also recolve our attention shortly. The deal in this case was advantageous to both parties. Pra adams (baked and fried) which are less perishable have a higher value as transportable prasadams. so also God's chandanam, betel and nuts. Sripadarōnu is another rare article.

We can well understand why the Sthanattar made a scramble to obtain the donor's share of the prasadams and how the Tiruppani Bhandārttar came in for their share also. During Achyutarava's reign an attempt was made to put an end to this. It is likely that the donor in several cases sold his share or transferred the same for consideration.

For the successful and punctual performance of these trusts the genuine co-operation of the Sthanattar and the Tiruppani Bhandārttar was essential.

QUANTITY OF FOOD OFFERINGS ACTUALLY COOKED

The Sthānattār should expend conscientiously the monies entrusted to them for the repairs of existing irrigation sources and for the construction of new ones. The Tiruppani people were responsible not only for the proper execution of the works, but also for the collection of the produce or rents as the case may be. They could report failure of crops, or impossibility of collecting rents. Where rents were not realised, the trust failed to function. Such cases were not infrequent in the history of this temple.

When we review the extent and volume of the different food offerings for which endowments were made from time to time, we begin to doubt whether all these offerings were daily cooked in the temple kitchen. Some may not have been offered to the Deity by collusion between the Sthānattar, the cooks and the Nambimars. Their own individual shares may have been appropriated in the raw state itself. We cannot blame them for what was perhaps impossible of accomplishment in a day of 24 hours. When Krishnadeva Maharaya gave a portion of his quarter share to the Tiruppani Bhandarattar it was with a view to make sure that the food was cooked. A portion had also to be sent to his choultry for distribution to pilgrims. While this can ensure part performance daily, it cannot ensure full performance if the Tiruppani Bhandarattar also collude with the others. But the baked and fried *vagai padu* and *chandanam* are prasadam which it is to the advantage of all to offer.

It appears to have been decided therefore in Achyutaraya's time that the best method was to

see that the donor's share was given to the donor and that none of the temple authorities should appropriate that share. The donor would thus be assured that his endowment was functioning

How the three quarters share of the prasadam which became temple property was disposed of has not been mentioned in any of the inscriptions. All that is invariably mentioned is that it should be appropriated for distribution in Sandhi adaippu time. Whatever might have been the ancient practice we are told in one of Saluva Govindamya's endowments¹ that the three-quarters share should be distributed first amongst Tēvai, Singamurai Panṇimurai Kalkkōlar and the balance among the twelve Nirvāham. The donor's quarter share went to the donor. The inscription stands damaged in parts and complete information is therefore not available. The existing practice will be fully detailed in the chapter dealing with prasadams.

But it was not always the case that the three quarters share was appropriated for distribution in Sandhi Adaippu. There are instances which go to show that the three-quarters share was perhaps distributed to pilgrims. The usual wording of the inscription would be with reference to the disposal of the three quarter share of the prasadams we will receive them at Sandhi. *Prasadam* *Prasadam* *Prasadam*

PRASADAMS—ARTICLE OF TRADE

How Prasadam became an article of trade in Tirumalai deserves some explanation at length

¹ IV 162 311 1311

PRASADAMS AS ARTICLE OF TRADE

We have noticed from our inscriptions that in the early days, perhaps even up to the end of the third quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., there was not enough prasadams in the temple to feed the Sthānikas and other casual employees, not to speak of the pilgrims. For the benefit of the last named satiams and mathams were established, and a portion of the donor's quarter share was used there to feed the pilgrims free. After the Sthanattar came into existence about 1390 A.D. and after the preparation of vagai padi (such as atirasams, appams, vadai etc.) increased, a portion of the donor's share was given by the donor for their maintenance or nirvaham. This practice seems to have been started in 1390 A.D. But some of the Sthanattars (Jiyars, Nambimars, Sabhaiyar, Tiru-ninra-ur-Udaiyar) held another status 'also in the temple as Sthānikas. In the latter capacity they had a share of three-quarter share of every food offering. A clear distinction must be made between Sthānikas and Sthanattars. The former form a group of all the temple employees who were there from long before the advent of the Sthanattar. So some of the Sthanattar secured for themselves prasadams in two capacities.

We also found that the Sthānikas of the Govinda-rajaswami temple complained to Sri Sāluva Nara-singadeva Udaiyār that their emoluments were insufficient for their maintenance and had an edict issued that they may follow the Tirumalai Temple practice and distribute among themselves all the

three-quarter share of the prasadams offered in the Tirupati Temple. Even before the issue of this edict we found that Tirumalainambi Tolnppar Ayyangar distributed from out of the donors share of 13 appams, 6 appams among the 12 nirvaham of Sthannattar in Tirupati also. From a close study of the inscriptions thereafter, we have had ample reasons to infer that the Sthanattar got demoralised and began to appropriate for themselves and for the vagai people, the entire one-fourth share due to the donor in very many instances. We also noticed how Krishnadōva Mahārāya tried to remedy this state of affairs by making the Tiruppari Bhandā rattar not as a check on the vagaries of the Sthanattar. In Achyutaraya Maharaya's time a further attempt was made by making the donor receive his share himself. This was the rule except in a few cases where the donor (mostly Tirupati merchants who had to be in the good books of the Sthanattar) of his own accord distributed his share between the Sthanattar and Vagni people and in some cases the Tiruppari Bhandaram also came in for a share. We have also seen that Achyutaraya and some others did not specifically hand over even the three quarters share usually appropriated by the Sthanattar during Sandhanippu. That portion may have been distributed in open assembly or asthānam to bonafide pilgrims and devotees.

Above all we have seen that two very respectable persons responsible officers of Achyutaraya's Government sold their quarter share for valuable

PRASADAM IS MONEY AND POWER

consideration to another respectable person who was a poet, philosopher and devotee, who was assigned several villages by Achyutaraya, who himself made many valuable endowments and services to the temple and who styled himself "Śrīmad vēda mārṅa Pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya .." the upholder and establisher of the vedic religion and particularly Ramanuja's Siddhantam. He was not a hotel-keeper or sweet-meat seller. But he did represent a class of people who found by experience that temple prasadam is really money and therefore power. He saw how the Nambmars and the Jiyais were drawing to themselves large crowds because they had with them large stocks of cakes (panyāiams) chandanam, Śrīpādaiēnu, betel leaves and nuts, all rendered sacred by having been offered to God. Religious sentiment which became second nature to the devout Hindu attached great value to these. The traffic in these articles of divine relics brought with it very many advantages to the possessor.

But we have not seen so far in these inscriptions any member of an Achāryapurnsha family lining himself up with this fraternity. Their article of trade was their ancestry, or pedigree. They would have lost the respect which they commanded from princes and people if they had descended to exchanging prasadam for money. They were therefore mostly poorer than the other classes and we therefore find fewer endowments from them; and even such as were made were for smaller sums or were made by their disciples. Among the

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Acharyapurushās some members of the Tolappar family have made large endowments. But these are mostly transfer of grants or gifts made by the Kings or feudatory chiefs on some auspicious or inauspicious occasion, (such as an eclipse occurring perhaps on one's birth star day) to ward off the evil. The Acharyas were not slow to lay such grants and gifts at the feet of Tiruvengadamndaian and thus avoid the sin of receiving such gifts.

Temple worship, Acharyapurushas and other acharyas

We have necessarily to direct our thoughts towards the trend of temple worship—in this temple at any rate—from the days when Sri Ālavundār and Sri Ramanujn organised the same (11th Century A.D.) to about the middle of the 16th century A.D. Their aim appears to have been to encourage the Archin form of worship as a necessary preliminary to self discipline and spiritual culture. To this end a theocracy of Āchāryapurushas was created for this temple and they must have been functioning in the earlier days at least as propagandists. They gathered around them a large circle of disciples hereditarily. But what exactly they did in the temple is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions. We get a glimpse of a succession of these men from inscriptions recording the endowments or gifts to the temple and from inscriptions of endowments made by some of their disciples either for the merit of the Acharya or by mentioning them for receipt of a portion or the entire amount of the dowry.

ACHARYAPURUSHAS & SECULER ADMINISTRATION

quarter share. None of the Acharyapurushas seems to have had a hand in the administration of the temple. Nor do they appear to have been sharers in the three-quarter share of the prasadam reserved for those who were doing the kankaryams. They occupied an honoured position in the temple worship and they obviously went about the country reminding people of the greatness of this temple.

But the great Acharyas who were the propounders of Ramanuja's philosophy and the cult of temple worship in its present form are nowhere mentioned in our inscriptions directly. Pillai Lōkāchārya, Vēdānta Desika, Manavāla Mahāmuni and their successors, Adivan Sathagopa Jiyar, Brahma-tantiaswami, and others do not appear to have been recognised by the Sthanattar who administered the temple affairs. There is no inscription singing the glory of any of these, but we find only incidental mention of their names in some inscription or other by an ardent follower of their tenets. On the other hand we found Vijaya Gandagopala's greatness being magnified many times. The Pandya's glory was sung in glowing terms and so also the fame of the Yādavarāyas, even when the last of them was fading into silence. Gurupatampara accounts tell us stories of Vedānta Dēsika's miraculous birth, as being connected with the disappearance of the inner temple bell. But his visits to Tirumalai do not find mention in any inscription. There have been the Vaṇ Saṭthagōpan maṭham and the Pārakālaswāmi maṭham. There

Sirrayyengar was the son of Kōmāndūr Tiruvenkata Chakravarti whose annual birth star is Adl Mṛgasira.

The following appear as Sottai Tirumalai Nambal Kumara Tattayyangar's disciples — Feudatory Chiefs Pinna Bhupala Narasa Nayaka and his brother Kesa Navaka, and the temple accountants represented by Vignēsvara Srīman Appa Pillai (one of the generals of the Vijayanagar Empire under Saluva Narasimha and Krishna Devarayar) Tirumalai Nayakkar Mannar Pillai, other temple Accountants Kuppa Venkata-larasu Tiruvonkata van and some other accountants also, and Panditar Purushottamayyan Salakaraya Singaraja was the disciple of *Kumara Tattayyangar's son Tirumalai Tattayyangar*

Instances like these go to show that the acharyas did exercise some religious influence over their disciples who were votaries of this temple. The Sthanattar although some of its members such as the Nambimars and the Jiyars had also religious duties in the temple seem to have functioned strictly as the secular managers of the temple.

Iyyunni Appa we learn was the temple astrologer for fixing muhurtams. There was also another member Iyyuni Ramayyan son of Tiruvenkataastha Bhattar of the same family.

Agreement among cloth merchants and lessees.

IV 112 9-10 1538 A.D

Among the numerous inscriptions there is one of peculiar interest to us. It is on the east base

AGREEMENT AMONG CLOTH DEALERS

(outer side) right of entrance of the first (inner) gopuram of Sri Govindaraswami temple in Tirupati and is dated Wednesday, Bahula Dvitiya in Tūlā month of the year Viḷambi, Krittika nakshatram, Saka 1460 (9-10-1538) during the reign of Srīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Hariyarāya Vibhāta Bhāsekkattappuvarāyara-gaṇḍa Mūvarāya-gaṇḍa Pūrva Dakshina Paschima Uttara Samudrādhipati Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Vira Achyutaraya Maharaya. It is an agreement between the cloth and yarn merchants of Tondaimaṇḍalam, Puramaṇḍalam and Uḷmaṇḍalam on one side and the cowlholders (lease holders) of Vijayanagaram, Magudhu paṭṭanam, Vidhura paṭṭanam and Pūranapurū on the other. In the weaving of coarse (ముచుకు, முதலாககு) cloth on handlooms, the Sadisarakku vaḍam (warp yarn) and the weft (ஊல) should be in the proportion of 1 to 2 in numbers. Such weaving should be left to the muslim weavers exclusively. For any infringement of this agreement by members of either party, a fine of 12 gold varahans shall be levied which shall be collected and credited to the Sri Bhaṇḍāram of Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān. This 'was to hold' good for all countries south of Tirupati and Conjeevaram.

It may be observed that there was no state interference in arriving at this agreement and that the agency for enforcing strict compliance and for collecting and crediting the fine to Sri Bhaṇḍaram was the assembly of the merchants only.

This inscription throws some light on the concern of the Hindus for the welfare of their

fellowmen the muslim converts. It also shows that the merchants had full faith in the organising capacity and commercial honesty of their own assembly to enforce the terms of the agreement. This was the state of affairs just about 400 years ago. The merchants were proud of the *prāsasti* of their sovereign and the inscription gives it in full.

Another fact which we have to note is that neither Achyutaraya Maharaya, nor his queen Varadaji Amman made any endowments to the temple of Sri Govindaraja nor have they shown any zeal for the temples of Sri Ramanuja in Tirumalai and in Tirupati. Their endowments like those of Krishnadōvarāya have all been for Sri Venkatesa's temple. A close reading of the inscriptions IV, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 54, 58, 123 and 20 will make this clear. The Devasthanam epigraphist presumes that IV, 97 refers to an endowment by queen varadaji amman. It is an incomplete inscription and the endowment was made by some one in the name of Varadaji amman "செவ்வழகத்திலுள்ள (வரதாஜி அம்மனபெயரில்) குடிநிலை". The wording in IV, 29 (which is an endowment by the queen) is செவ்வழகத்திலுள்ள பட்டணத்தோரம்பலி உதார்த்தமே அம்மை அளிப்பதினாலே பிழைக்கப்பட்ட உதார்த்தமே. ("To Varadaji devi amman the queen consort of Achyutaraya Maharayar, we the Sthanattar of Tirumalai.") Inscription IV, 97 however records something done in her name (or for her merit). The same inscription includes another item of endowment by one Villiyar in para 75 of the inscription. This Villiyar

TIRUPATI TEMPLES NOT VISITED BY ACHYUTA

is probably the son of the temple accountant Venkatatturaivar and he made an endowment of 200 panam for some festival on the Kanu festival day in a mantapam constructed by him on the bank of the Govinda Pushkarini in Tirupati in January 1530. Soon after Achyutarayar ascended the throne, there is nothing unlikely in some of the accountants making an endowment wherein some of the items were in the name of the Queen and for her merit. It was a well-established form of showing loyalty.

We may therefore feel assured that following the footsteps of his predecessor Kṛṣṇnadeva Rayar, Achyutarayar and his Queen limited their worship to the God in Tirumalai. Nor do they show any attachment to Sṛī Ramanuja's temple. Achyutaraya takes care to describe the Tirupati Alvar Tīrtham as the Divya Tīrtham of Tiruvengadamudaiyān and makes no reference to Govindarājaswami, for whose special service Sṛī Ramanuja consecrated that waterfall. No wonder that the Sṛīvaiṣṇavas in their turn let down Achyuta Perumāḷ temple and the agraharam founded by Achyutaraya.

It must be remembered that the temple of Sṛī Govindarāja was from the beginning entirely affiliated to the Tirumalai Temple and dependent thereon for financial assistance. But devotees from time to time did institute separate endowments for daily Sandhā offering as well as special offerings on tingal divasams and viśeṣa divasams (special

festival days) inclusive of the two Brahmotsavams. Having been consecrated by Sri Ramanuja himself the temple was held in high esteem by all Srivaishnavas. It received special attention during the reign of the Yādavarāyas and Sāluva Narasimha. But Sri Vira Krishnadevaraya did not extend his royal patronage. There were however a few officers of his who made endowments in its favour. Taking only the daily sandhi offering endowments into consideration, this temple received endowments for 21 tirupponakams during Krishnaraya's period, while the Tirumalai temple received 129 Tirupponakams. The panyārams are not taken for purposes of comparisons, as in fact Govindaraja got nothing excepting during the Viśeṣha divasams. Mannar Pillai seems to be the only officer, who made an endowment of one Tirupponakam. All the other offerings were by private devotees including the one by Narayana Jiyar.

During Achyutaraya's reign, there was the same indifferent attitude. Sri Govindarajaswami secured only 23 tirupponakams and one atirasam daily while the Tirumalai temple got 276 tirupponakams 3 atirasams 3 vadai 3 dōcai 1 sidai, 1 sukhiyan etc. The offerings on days of tingal and viśeṣha divasams are not considered here, as they are too numerous to go into a summary. Among the officers of the State the two who contributed to Sri Govindaraja temple are, Rāyasam Timmarasar, (16 tirupponakam and one atirasam)

ACHYUTARAYA'S CHARITIES PERISHED

and Perungondai Virappannan (one tirupponakam daily). The others were all private donors.

As for the temples of Sri Ramanuja and the Ālvārs, royal patronage was nil. The officers followed suit. But the Sri Vaishnava devotees as a class celebrated the Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Ramanuja and the Ālvārs in a befitting manner. The endowment made by Paradēsi Tiruvenkatayyan describes in detail the manner of the celebration. It is rather strange that Sri Vira Achyutarayar, who was so prompt in reconstructing the Ālvār Tirtham in a befitting manner, should have failed to extend his patronage to the festivals of the Ālvārs and Sri Ramanuja. Nothing but the want of zeal on the part of the Srivaishnavas of Tirupati, —no doubt justifiable from their point of view— could account for the sorry fate of Achyutaperumal temple and the aghraharam in Tirupati and the Achyutarāyan Kōnēri and mantapams in Tirumalai, which have now completely vanished. The reaction of the local residents showed itself in greater attachment to the temple of Sri Govindaraja and to the celebration of the Adhyayanotsavams. We will see more of this in Sri Sadasivarayar's reign.

Achyutaraya was certainly a staunch and sincere worshipper of Vishnu, particularly Tiruvēngadamudaiyān. But he failed to recognise that a temple consecrated by himself cannot flourish when in the same place there is a more ancient temple consecrated by Sri Ramanuja, wherein the Deity installed was one with a long tradition behind, dating to the

Chola period Nor was he able to realise the foolishness of creating a new Pushkarini in Tirumalai to compete with the Swami Pushkarini which had all the ancient traditions behind it When he practically pushed aside the archaka who had an Agamic halo around him and performed the archana himself every Hindu accustomed to pay unquestioning obedience to the rules and procedure enjoined in the Agamas would have set him down for an eccentric if not an arrogant ruler



ANNEXURE TO CHAPTER XIX

Vide page 697)

ADAIPPAM BAIYAPPA NAYAKKAR Son of Timmappa Nayakkar, paid 15000 Panams on 16-1-1537 and another sum of 630 panams on 6-9-1538 for offering in all 300 appa padi a year and 9 atirasam padi, 309 palams of chandanam, 15450 areca nuts and 30900 betel leaves. The atirasam padis were to be offered in his own mantapam. He had already made an endowment of 53320 panams on 9-11-1535 and (perhaps another 9000 panams) on 16-4-1519 the two together being for 26 Tirupponakam daily.

PERIYA TIMMAPPAN AND CHINNA RAMAPPAN, sons of Basava Nayakkar endowed 1500 panams for a series of food offerings among which the main item is 117 appa padi to be offered during 9 Brahmotsavams at the rate of one appa padi on each of the 13 days of the Brahmotsavam in his own mantapam in Narasā Nāyakkār Street, Tirumalai.

DALAVAY TIMMARASAYYAR (Commander of the Chandragiri Forces), not only paid 15000 panams, but also endowed Samapuram Tinnai village with an annual income of 150 Rekhai Pon for food offerings, chief among which are 117 appa padi, during 9 Brahmotsavams in his own mantapam in Narasā Nāyakkār Street

Similarly, *LĒPAKSHI VIRAPPANNAGAL* endowed 15000 panams for food offerings, 117 appa

padi being in his own mantapam in Narasā Nāyakkar Street,

and *ANGARAJA NAGAPPAYYAR*, 15000 panams, chief item of offering being 117 appa padi during the 9 Brahmotsavams in his mantapam in Narasā Nayakkar Street,

SĀLAKAYYADEVA SINGARĀJA endowed 15000 panam for offering 300 appa padi in the year, the benefioliary of the donors share being his āchārya Kumāra Tāttayyangar. He had already endowed a similar 15000 panams on 12-1-1537, donors share to be given to his sisters (Queen) acharyā.

It will be noticed that there were at least 4 mantapams constructed by the officers in Narasā Nayakkar Street. And there were as many as twelve endowments each of the value of 15000 panams by Achyutarayar's officers for food offerings whether on the Koneri bank or in Narasā Nayakkar Street. They were all between the years 1537 and 1542 A.D. The natural inference would be that they were made to please Achyutadevaraya.

The occasions on which the food offerings were made were practically the same.

117 appa padi (on 13 days of each of the
9 Brahmotsavams.)

9 atirasa padi on one day of each

4 appa padi on certain car festivals of „

5 „ on 5 days of Anna Unjal Tirunal

5 „ on 5 days of Pavitrotsavam

1 „ on Sahasra Kalasabbishokam day

FESTIVAL DAYS FOR FOOD OFFERINGS

5	appa padi	on Vasantotsavam days
20	„	on 20 days of summer festival
9	„	on 9 Floating festival days
25	„	on 25 Adhyayanotsavam days
12	„	on 12 Māsa Sankrantis
25	„	on 25 Ekadasis of the year
12	„	on 12 new moon days
12	„	on 12 full moon days
13	„	on 13 Mrigasira days
13	„	on 13 Punarvasu days
13	„	on 13 Uttiram days
1	„	on Srijayanti day
1	„	on Uri-adi day
1	„	on Arpasi Pūrādam day
1	„	on Hunting Festival
1	„	on Sri Rama Navami

300 appa padis Total.

Some add 1 appa padi on Uttāna Ekadasi day, 3 appa padis on Sri Ramanuja's Adhyayanotsavam, 1 on Mannasamudram festival and 1 on Vanni Maram day.

It looks as if there was a pre-arranged list by the Sthanattar to whom the money was paid as a matter of routine or necessity. We have to entertain this suspicion because the Yūgādi and Deepavali festivals stand omitted. Vyasa Tirtha Sri Pada Udaiyar did not fail to include these two festivals so essential for those who observe the Lunı-Solar Calendar, which the Vijayanagar Kings followed

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Villages endowed, Krishna's time.

BY OFFICERS

	Village	year	Rekka Pon Income
Kondamaraju	Mulumudi	1519	} 1300
Saluva Timmarasa	Parantalur	1512	
Saluva Govindaraya	Melpadi	1522	
Rama Navakkar	Sengodipalli	1512	
Appa Pillai	Virakampanallur	1511	
Udigum Ellappa Nayakkar	{ Karthalaipattu Nelvay Kollidumbai	1516	
Trymbaka deva	Morandai	1517	
Subudhi Ramadasar	Tandalam	1521	
Ambikamudusila	Tadapalam	1521	

By Officers 11 villages for offering dally 64 tirupponakam, 2 appa padis, 3 atirasa padi etc

BY OTHERS

		year
Kandadal Madhava ayangar	1630 kuli of wet land	1520
Tatvadi Narayanan (3 tirupponakam dally)	Ilivalaipundi	1514
Narayana Deva (for one pāyasa harivana daily)	Gangalapudi	1514
Pendli koduku Chenna ayya (6 Tiruppoaa kams)	Hanumani gunṭa	1524
Srirangaraya (1 tirup- ponakam)	Erlampudi	1514

VILLAGES ENDOWED IN KRISHNA DEVAS REIGN

BY OTHERS Village year

Kondı Setti (3 tirup-
ponakams) Chintayapallı 1517

Surappa Reddi (one
tirupponakam) Pūtalapaṭṭu lands 1527

Total 17 villages, 1630 kuli of lands Putalapattū
lands, Annual Income about 300 R,P yearly

Total by officers and others = 1600 R.P. yearly.

KRISHNADEVAR 4YA'S:— Tāllapākkam,
Pirāḍam, Dārattur, Mudıyūr Satrapaḍı, Turayıūr
and 1/2 of Kaḍaıkkūttanpaḍı also Pērāyam during
Purattası Brhmotsavam These were for offering
daily 62 tirupponakam, 8 akkalı mandai, 2 appa
paḍı, 2 atırasa paḍı, 5 palams chandanam, 300 areca
nuts, and 600 betel leaves; Value of property
 $62 \times 1500 = 93,000$ panams

Villages endowed in Achyuta's time.

BY OFFICERS:	Village	year	R P. yearly
Rayasam Ramachan- dra Dikshıtar (8 tirupponakam)	Tāmarapakkam	1533	200
Dalavay Timmarasa ayya	Samapuram Tinnai	1540	200
(Probably) Achyutara- yas orders (for 8 appa paḍı yearly)	Mallapuram	1537	
Penugondai Virappannan	Pāsıgalapād	1506	120
Rāyasam Timmara- sayya	Chırāla, Perala & Anḍupalle	1538	500

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

<i>BY OFFICERS</i>	Villages	year	R.P yearly
Saluva Govindaraja (for 2 tirupponakam)	Village name not given (say)	1541	30
Ellappayyan	Rathagevalli	1541	200
	Uttannapalli	,	100
(For 18 tirupponakam Total 300 R.P)			
10 Villages by officers-Yearly say			1300

BY OTHERS

Tallapakkam P Tiru malai Ayyangar	Sōmayajulapalli, Rajalapudi, Tippanapalli, Kaṭṭamavaripalli and one half of Erraguntayapalli	1530	80
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(for offering daily 4 tirupponakam
and 365 atirasa padi in the year and
daily 150 areca nuts 300 betel leaves
and 2 palams of chandanam.)

Tallapakkam P Tiru malai Ayyangar	Pūndi and Sangamakkōṭai villages worth 1000 Rekhai pon (10000 panam)	1532	
(for offering daily 40 tiruppona kam 1 atirasa padi, 2 palams perfu med chandanam 50 areca nuts, 100 betel leaves, 3 sacred threads and also one rosewater pot every Friday			120

Tallapakkam P Tiru malai Ayyangar	Maruvakarai & Kāvanur	1537	
(for daily one Kanda sarkarai and sambara Elpodl.)			200

VILLAGES ENDOWED. ACHYUTA'S REIGN

BY OTHERS	Villages	year	R.P. yearly
Tallapakkam P. Thumalai Ayyangar	Pallipuram	1539	
(for daily one godhumai tiruppaniyaiam)			133
Tallapakkam P. Thumalai Ayyangar	Kuppam and Kilanguniam	1541	
(for daily 4 Tirupponakam and 12 more in a year)			300
	Total	...	833
Yandalu Venkatadri Ayyan	1538 village (no name)		700
(for 24 tirupponakam and 24 nāyaka taligai)			
Vidyarthi Krishnavva,	90 kuli wet land	1538	
Sālaipakkam Naga Ayyar,	1530 Muttukur village		120
(for 7 tirupponakam daily)			
Trivēdi Mahadeva Somayaji,	1534 Valitirattī,		250
(for 14 tirupponakam daily)			
Yandalur Malayappa-rāyan	Panchavanmadevi village		140
(for one tirupponakam daily)			
V. Govinda Panditar,	Achyutaraya-puram	1536	600
(for 3 tirupponakam daily)			

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

<i>BY OTHERS</i>	Villages	year	R.P yearly
Yāndalur Venkatadri Bhattar	Gollapalli	1540	120
(for 8 tirupponakam daily)			
Piḷaiporuttār Pillai	one-village	1535	200
	Perumālpalli		100
	Penniyapalli		20
	Vittaru		10
	Maruman Gaundapuram		20
(for 20 tirupponakam daily)			<hr/> 360 <hr/>

Ellāppillai 4000 kuli wet land 1533
 worth 2500 panams
 for one tiruppona
 kam daily

Total — 22½ villages + 4020 kuli of land
 income yearly say, 2300 Rekhai Pon.

Approximate total income per year from landed
 property gifted during Achyuta's period by officers
 as well as others, 32½ villages + 4020 kuli of wet
 land

Annual income 3600 Rekhai pon.



CHAPTER XX.

SADASIVARAYA MAHARAYA'S PERIOD.

The exact date of commencement of Sadāsivārāya Maharaya's to reign is not definitely known. The Devasthanam's report quotes from the Archaeological Department's Annual Report for 1908-19, (page 193) by the Director-General of Archaeological survey and states, that Sadasivārāya was nominated as co-regent of Achyutarāya in 1537. But there is no indication in the Devasthanam inscriptions to support this view. The last available date in our inscriptions for Achyutarāya's reign is¹ 23-3-1542. On that date one Malai Perumāḷ, a disciple of Sri Vaṇṇ Sathagōpa Jiyar, made an endowment of 1600 panams for some appa paḍi offerings on behalf of himself and of his Acharya. There are also two other inscriptions both of the same date viz, 23-2-1542 to be considered in this connection. They were both executed just one month previously. One² records an endowment by Penugonda Vīrappaṇṇagal, son of Lēpakshī Nandi Lakkisetṭi and the other³ by one Appayyan. Vīrappaṇṇagal's endowment of 600 Rēkhai Pon (6000 panams) does not mention the name of the ruling monarch. Knowing, as we do, that Vīrappaṇṇagal was closely connected with and was largely depen-

1 IV 174 23-3-1542

2 IV 172

3 IV. 173

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

indifferent or preferred to be neutral so far as the rival claims were concerned. They could not have done better when such men as Penugonda Virappannan and Ōgampadi Gargu Reddi preferred not to name anybody as the emperor. It was only in 1543 (February) that the accountants of the Tirumalai Temple considered it desirable and safe to mention the name of Sadasivarāya as Emperor. No special favours were shown by Achyutaraya to the Sthanattar and to the local Srivaishnavas to endear him to them. They seem to have preferred to mention in the inscriptions the name which the donors chose or to mention none.

Another point worthy of note is that the endowment made by Singaraja already referred to was the last endowment made by a member of the Salakarāja family. After the unsuccessful attempt made by Salakaraja Timmaraja and his brother to usurp the throne in the name of Achyutaraya's young son, Venkatadri (whom Timmaraja himself is supposed to have killed later) the name of no member of this family appears as donor or as benefactor among the inscriptions of the Devasthanam.

It is an assured fact that from February 1543 Salasivaraya was the undisputed successor to the throne of Vijayanagar. It seems also to be accepted on all hands that Araviti Aliya Ramarāja (son in law of Krishnadevaraya) and his younger brother Tirumalarāja, were the defacto rulers as they were mainly responsible for securing the throne for Sadasivaraya. If during Achyutaraya's reign the

SALAKA'S ENDOWMENTS & ARAVIDU FAMILIES

Sālaka family was the power behind the throne, the Aravidu family may be said to have snatched that power from them by placing Sadāsiva on the throne. Whatever might have been said by certain poets unfavourable to Ramaraja, our inscriptions show that so far as the temple is concerned he and the other members of the Aravidu family have been greater benefactors than the Salaka family.

The total benefactions made by the members of the Salaka family amounted to only 34,600 panams and out of this the share of Singarāja alone was 30000 panams. No member of the Aravidu dynasty made any endowment during Achyuta's reign, (except 531 Rekhar-Pon made in the name of one Aravidu Lakshmanman) During Sadasivaraya's reign no member of the Sālakan family made any endowments. But those made by the Aravidu family were substantial and numerous as will be shown later. Aliya Ramaraja and one Kondarāja felt that it was the moral responsibility of the rulers to make adequate provision for the feeding of the pilgrims coming to the temple. They therefore made arrangements for this on a scale which was unprecedented in the history of the Devasthanam. The inscriptions show that although Sadasivaraya never took the initiative, he was not slow to approve of Ramaraja's arrangements.

It is interesting to note that the endowments show that the country was then passing through an economic crisis and that money was scarce, or perhaps was shy to come out owing to fear of im-

pending political troubles which ended in the disastrous battle of Tālikōta or Rākshasatagdi

The most noteworthy point about Sadāsivarāya Maharaya is that he did not directly make a single endowment large or small for any of the temples of this Devasthanam. It cannot however be said that he was not as great a devotee of Tiruvēngada mndaiyān as any of the others. He seems to have visited Tirumalai only once, that is, on a Makara Sankramanam day, 27-12-1553 (Vide V 154, 2-7-1554). On this occasion, he made a free grant in favour of Kondarāja's Nammalvār Ramanuja kūṭam in Tirupati of the income from 12 kinds of taxes in sixteen sirmas or provinces. He also made grants of villages to several deserving persons who in their turn endowed them for charities in the Tirumalai temples. There can therefore be no doubt about his religious temperament. We may then try to see why he failed to make any direct endowment. Perhaps the circumstances under which he became the Emperor account for this. From Ferishhta's account of the events which happened at the time of the civil war between Sālakarāja Timma raja and Araviti Aliya Ramaraja in which the former backed the claims of Venkaṭadri the young son of Achyutarāya and the latter took up the cause of Sadāsivaraya, we learn that Sālakarāja summoned to his aid the common enemy, Adil Shah of Bijapur, but that Ramaraja succeeded in inducing Sālakarāja to send him back to Bijapur by paying 56 lakhs of Rekhial pon (2 million sterling). It is

therefore likely that when Sadāsivarāya ultimately found himself firmly established on the throne, the treasury was much depleted, if not altogether empty. He must have been aware that Krishnādēvarāya showered on the Deity on each of two occasions, thirty thousand gold varahans. He must also have known that his gifts of jewels, vessels etc., were befitting the emperor of Vijayanagara. He must likewise have known that Achyutarāya spent money lavishly on this temple by constructing in Tirumalai a pushkarini and a number of pavillions on its bank and a new Achyuta Perumal temple and agraharam in Tirupati besides making improvements to the Alṽar Tīrtham. It would no doubt have been painful to him that he could not follow their example. Although his reign was very much longer than those of his predecessors, he seems to have made only one pilgrimage to the temple in Tirumalai. Even on this occasion, he does not seem to have been in a position to make gifts of jewels, or any large sum of money to the temple. All that he could do was to make a perpetual grant of a number of taxes as and when they came to be collected; and this he did not in favour of the temple, but in favour of the Ramanujakutam in Tirupati. Therein by this grant about 1500 pilgrims would have been fed daily with a sumptuous meal. It would thus seem that it was not the want of will but the want of money which made Sadasivaraya pay but one pilgrimage to the temple and even on this occasion to act in a humble manner. But we

find his adherents of the Aravidu family and quite an army of religiously minded men who were benefited by his munificence filling up the gap

It must be admitted that the explanation given above may not account sufficiently for Sadāsivarayā's failure to make endowments to the temple in his name. It was customary for the Hindu rulers including the Vijayanagar Emperors, soon after their accession to the throne to make an endowment for a Sandhi offering called *avasaram* for Tiruvengalanatha. We have thus the Narayanan Sandhi (Yadavaraya's) Sāluva Narasinga's Sandhi, Bukkarāyan Sandhi, Kriehnadēvarayan Sandhi, and Achyutarayan Sandhi. Some of these were large endowments while others were comparatively small. In the name of Sadāsivaraya however we do not find an endowment made for any Sandhi offering. It could not be accounted for merely on the score of a depleted treasury. He ascended the throne in 1542 or 1543 and was perhaps co-regent with Achyutaraya for some years before that. He visited Tirumalai on 28th December 1543 on Makara Sankramanam day that is ten years after his accession. On 3-2-1554 Aliya Ramayadēva Maharaja executed (in an inscription) a charity with libations of water on the banks of the Svāmī Pushkarinī in Tirumalai by which two prasadam and four appams from out of the donor's share of what is known as Achyutarayan Sandhi were to be daily handed over to Valghanasā Archaka Srinivasan and some others residing on the north bank

SADASIVARAYA'S ENDOWMENT POLICY

of the Pushkarini This was ordered in fulfilment of the dhāra pūrvakadānam made by Sadasivaraya. We have to infer that the occasion was his visit to Tirumalai in December 1553. If Sadasivaraya had any avasaram instituted in his own name Ramaraja would not have ordered the charity to be met from Achyutaraya's avasaram. It is usual for the Archakas and other permanent servants of the temple to approach important personages coming on pilgrimage for some mark of favour. When such personages make endowments for food offerings it is also usual for them to hand over a portion or even the entire quantity of the donor's share of the offerings to the applicants. It must have been in some such manner that the gift of a portion of Achyutaraya's share of his Sandhi offering was made over to the Archakas on this occasion. Judging from our inscriptions, the largest number of grants of villages to deserving men was made during Sadasivaraya's reign. But he did not endow a single village to the temple nor even to the archakas who approached him. The latter would very much have liked that Sadāsivaraya should make a large endowment of Sandhi offerings with provision for the donor's share being made over to them. They would have preferred assignment of prasādams to assignment of a village. There was always the difficulty in collecting rents or lease amounts from villages. But prasādams could always be sold at the door of the temple itself.

But Sadasivaraya seems to have thought otherwise. That he was liberal can be seen from his

giving away a large number of taxes collected from sixteen different provinces to Kondarāja's Ramanujakutam. Other considerations must have weighed with him in determining his attitude in the matter. Out of every Sandhi offering three-fourth the share was appropriated by the temple establishment. It is nowhere stated whether any part of this was ever distributed free to the pilgrims. With his knowledge of the administration he must have known that even the quarter share of the donor ultimately went partly into the hands of the Nirvāham and the Vagai people either as outright gift made by the donor or by sale and what was left went into the hands of those who exploited others in the name of religion. He must have known that a bonafide pilgrim had to purchase his prasadam at the temple gate from the leaseholders of prasadams, or from quasi religious managers of mathams and choultries who while supplying prasadams free extracted kānukas and presents from those to whom they gave the prasadams. Araviḍu Kōnōṭirāja Kondarāja saw through this and with a view to alleviating the sufferings of the pilgrims started a Ramanujakūṭam in Tirupati where it was more needed than in Tirumalai. In the latter place prasadam could be purchased. But in Tirupati it could not be had even for money. There were no hotels in those days. There was also the difficulty of inducing orthodox people Brahmīns in particular to partake of mass preparation and distribution of food known

KONDARĀJA'S RAMANUJAKUTAM IN TIRUPATI

as sanghānam To overcome this objection Kondarāja first built a Nammālvār Temple in Srī Bhashyakār Street, (the present G North Mada Street, Tirupati) and as an adjunct thereto, a free feeding house for Srivaishnava pilgrims. And as the manager of the institution had to be one who could freely enter the kitchen and whose sight or touch of any article of food would not be taken objection to by even the most orthodox Brahmin, he appointed to this office one Sotṭai Tirumalai Nambi Sīrama Ayyangai, a junior member of the First Acharya purusha family attached to the temples in Tirumalai and Tirupati No part of the three-quarter share, not even the 'Allu' of the prasadams offered to the Deity in Nammālvār temple, was to be appropriated by anybody. Nor was the quarter share to be appropriated by the donor. The entire quantity of 125 taligai which was enough to feed about 1200 Srivaishnavas was to be utilised for feeding such pilgrims The food was likewise to be prepared with great care and samba rice was used Four kinds of vegetables, green gram, ghee, curds, and fruits were to be served Payasam was to be served on all the 13 Visakha Nakshatrams in a year, gingelly oil and soap-nut powder were to be supplied for oil bath on all the 53 Saturdays in the year. Tāmbūlam and chandanam were also served on all days

The Ramanujakutam servants were well paid There were 15 cooks who were paid 180 R P yearly. The archaka for the Nammālvār Temple was a paid

servant. Store keeper watchman those who supervised the feeding Brahmins who supplied drinking water, the accountants and even the Adhikari were all paid servants. The entire cost of this establishment was 3365 panams yearly and the total annual expenditure was 57130 panams. The first Kartar (dharmakarta) was Srirama Ayyangar. Aravinda Kōnētirāja Kondaraja made for this an endowment of ten villages with an annual income of 5713. Rekhai Pon (Tarkōlam, Tayanūr Malayānūr, Attiyū, Āsūr Palandai Mullappaṭṭu, Kūdaipakkam Mayyūr and Toruppādu). It may be remembered that there was already in Tirupati near the Alvar Tīrtam a Nammālvār Temple. Araviti Kondaraja seems to have felt the necessity of constructing another temple in Tirupati near the Govindaraja temple and to make such arrangements as to make the prasādame in the Ramanujakutam acceptable to all Srivaishnavas going on pilgrimage to Tirumalai. It was because all temple prasādam whatever may be the quantity were being exploited by the temple employees, that this Ramanujakutam seems to have been established. It was quite unlike the Ramanujakutam of Sāluva Narasingadēva and its arrangements were different from those which Kriehnadevaraya and the others made for feeding the pilgrims. The idea may have emanated from the Āchāryapurushās who were free from any self interest in the prasadam distribution of the temples. They have always been entitled to a nīdaṣa or handful, if present in person and that too

SUPPORT OF SĀDASIVARAYA & ALIYA RAMARAJA

on occasions when the distribution was made in a Āsthanam or durbar This was why one of their number was made the Kartar of the new institution.

That this arrangement was approved by Aliya Ramaraja (the man behind the throne) and by the Emperor Sadasivaraya himself, can be seen from a reading of inscriptions No 155 and 154 of Vol. V. The latter has been already referred to and it states how twelve kinds of taxes from 16 provinces were ordered to be handed over to this Ramanujakutam. It was the Emperor's order to the Sthanattar of the Temple to see that the collections were used for the Ramanujakutam only We are however not told what these taxes amounted to every year.

In November of the same year 1554 A.D Aliya Rama Raja made an endowment of 4 villages, (Singalabhavi in Raichur Sirmā, Valagōlil in Mudgal, Yāralachchērī and Mākālīpattu in Periyapālayam Sirmā,) with an annual income of 4000 Rekhaḥ Pon for a daily sandhī offering of 200 Vellai tirupponakams to Tuvēngalanātha to be made soon after the Alagappiranar Tirumanjanam in the morning (V. 155). He ordered that the donor's share of 50 Tirupponakams or pongal taligai should be handed over to the Tirupati Nammālṽr Ramanujakutam by adjustment with the offerings made in Govindaraja's temple. This additional quantity of 50 tirupponakam would have fed perhaps 500 more pilgrims daily But we may ask why Aliya Ramaraja made provision for perhaps the largest single Sandhī offering in his own name, and not for

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the merit of Sadasivaraya. He could as well have augmented Kondaraja's 125 tirupponakams with his own 200 tirupponakams instead of handing over only the donor's share of fifty. The reason may be this. Sadasivaraya's endowment of the taxes to the Ramanujakūṭam was made in December 1553. The Sthanattar would naturally have represented to Aliya Ramaraja that it was unfair to overlook the Temple in Tirumalai where every Emperor had made provision for an avasaram. Knowing perhaps full well Sadasivaraya's views on this matter, Aliya Ramaraja would have made the endowment of 200 tirupponakam in November 1554 in his own name. In this connection we may note that Aliya Ramaraja made an endowment (V 29) on 19-1-1545 (two years after Sadasivaraya became Emperor) by the grant of Puduppatṭu village in Ārya Sirmāi with an annual income of 200 Rēkhai Pon for the merit (செ.உ. புண்ணியம்) of the Emperor Sadasivaraya for certain services being performed in Tirumalai and Tirupati Temples of which the reading of Tiruvēṅkaṭa Mahātmyam in Tirumalai and Tirupati at the time of the Tiruvārādhanam was an essential item. Perhaps because Aliya Ramaraja came to understand later the views of the Emperor in these matters, he omitted to state that this larger endowment in 1554 was for the merit of the Emperor.

Prasadam Lessees—Prasadakkara Mahamedangal.

It was mentioned above that pilgrims had to purchase the prasadam required by them from lessees who got their supply from the Sthanattar

and others by a system of regular annual lease. That such a system was in vogue is evident from inscription No 88, Vol V dated 6-2-1547. The names of as many as eleven lessees are mentioned therein. They do not seem to have been confined to any one particular caste or sect. Some also seem to have been richer than the others. But all of them seem to have considered themselves as belonging to a fraternity with common interests to safeguard, and were known as Prasādakkārai Mahāmēdangal.

List of Prasadakkarar.

KUNJAPPŪR SRINIVASAN son of Nallān was the most prominent of them. He contributed 3590 panams while the other ten contributed from 60 panams (the lowest by one Nayinar) and 400 panams (by Sevvu Nayakkar). Their names and their caste give an idea of the kind of persons who plied this trade.

1. Kunjappur Srinivasan He might have been a Brahmin
2. Vattamaru Venkatat-turaiyar Annan. He too might have been a Brahmin.
3. Anpanār Pērāyiram He might have been a
alias Settalur Kuppan. a Brahmin
4. Nayinar, son of Koneri
Appan of Tanjaneri He was also a Brahmin
Kandādar family.
5. Nāchchi Annan, Bhas-
vayyan (or Sevvayyan)
son of Tiruvenkata
Setti: He was a Trai-varnika.

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- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------------------|
| 6 | Sungāsi Nanappan's
sons Periya Timma
ayyan and Chinna
Timmayyan | Probably Sudras. |
| 7 | Nāchohān son of
Tondī Angandaī | He was a Kaikkōlar |
| 8 | Sevvu Nayakkar son
of Singa Nallappan | A Vellala of Prāngnādū |
| 9 | Nōṭṭakkāra Vengalu
Setti | A Trai varnika |
| 10 | Vangāpura Narayana
Setti Narayanan | He was a Trai varnika
of Tirupati |
| 11 | Panchalattar are the smiths of Tirupati | |

Out of their earnings they contributed the funds required for the celebration of certain festivals yearly for Viṭṭalēsvarapperumāl and Govinda rajaswami in Tirupati.

The sale of prasadams directly or through leasees was thus a recognised source of income for the temple servants. Sadasivaraya does not appear to have interfered with this practice.

Temple palanquin and daily prasadams gifted away to
a dancing girl Tiruvenkata Manikkam

There was also another evil which although it may have been in vogue from more ancient times, reached its climax in Sadasivaraya's reign. This is the prominence which the sānis (dancing girls) gained in the temple on account of their skill in Bharata Nāṭya. It was already mentioned that one

Tiruvēnkata Mānikkam was marked for exceptional honours by the Sthanattar under the influence of Poṭṭapāti Timmaraja (the local chief). She was not only given the very Dandigai (or palanquin) in temple use but in addition was allotted daily one taligai of prasadam, without any alḷu or alivu being appropriated by the aichakas and cooks in Tirumalai and one taligai likewise in Tirupati as a free gift for her and for her descendants in perpetuity. It was also ordered that the Prasadams should be given after the first bell and that the Tirupati prasadam should be delivered in her house. This happened about 3 years after Sadasivaraya's accession to the throne, and is recorded as a Dharma-sasanam (V. 74, 23-7-1546) 'How this act, whatever the merits and character of the damsel might have been, was received by Sadāsivaraya, we are not in a position to know. But from the fact that this damsel does not figure in any of the subsequent inscriptions, and that except for an endowment made by her sister, Lingāsāni on 23-3-1548, these sanis as a class disappear from the temple inscriptions, we may perhaps infer that it was Sadāsivaraya who ordered their removal from the temple. Sadasivaraya's standard of moral conduct thus appears to have been of a higher order than that of Achyutaraya. But dancing girls seem to have continued to be attached to some other temples in Tirupati. For we hear in an inscription dated 30-1-1563 that one Sevvusāni described herself as an Emperumānadiyar of Tirupati.

This incident deserves special attention in these days when some of the great protagonists of Bharata Natya are agitating for its revival in temples. They are not content with the exhibition of their skill by artists on the stage and the cinema. Have our morals far excelled those of our predecessors of the sixteenth century ?

NEW MINOR TEMPLES AND SHRINES.

During the period covered by Sadasivaraya's rule particularly between 1542 and 1550 A.D. a large number of minor temples and shrines came into existence in Tirupati. It was an inevitable result of the dissatisfaction felt by the residents of Tirupati at the difficulty experienced in receiving an appreciable part of the donors' share of the prasadam. We have seen that almost the entire quantity was being taken away by the temple employees and the Sthanattar. So far as the inconvenience experienced by the pilgrims as a result of this practice was concerned it was to a great extent attempted to be removed by Kondaraja's Ramanujakūṭam. The residents of Tirupati also sought relief for themselves by building new temples and shrines all over and endowing them as far as they could. Some of these are mentioned in our inscriptions.

(a) Govinda Krishna's Temple. V 6 16-2-1543

The temple accountant resident in Tirupati beheaded by one Tiruvananthālvān Kuppayvan constructed a shrine for Govindakrishna inside a mantapam in Bhashyakar Street on 16-2-1543 and made an

MINOR TEMPLES CONSTRUCTED

endowment of 1500 panams for offering daily one Tirupponakam at the shrine. He also made an endowment (V 58; 31-10-1545) of 2210 panams for making a night offering. Among the contributors to the endowment was one Bhattar Malaiyannan, alias Vēlaikkāṇḍa Perumāl Dāsar, one of the Sthanattar (and obviously a Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur). Two other contributors were Chēḍiyarāyar Emperuman and Tirtar Tirumalai Appar Govindan.

(b) Sri Tiruvenkata Gopalakrishnan.

This shrine was also constructed in the same street in a mantapam (V. 82; 25-10-1546). There must have been some reason for the construction of a separate shrine for Tiruvenkata Gopalakrishnan in the same street. Perhaps it was the result of some personal misunderstandings. An endowment of 2240 panams for offering one Tirupponakam daily was made for the Deity. It was constructed by Sāmiyār Govindan Periya Sōlai. There were also two Ubhayamdars, Tirtar Tirumalai Appar Govindan and Marappan Bhima Nāthar. It must be noted that in the case of both the temples it was arranged that the prasādams should be prepared in the kitchen of Sri Govindaraja's temple and brought over to the respective temples for offering.

(c) Tiruvenkadamudaiyan in Jiyar Matham.

Koyil Kelvi Vānamāmalai Ramanuja Jiyar constructed a temple of Tiruvengadamudaiyan in the eastern wing of his matham in Govindarajaswami Sannadhi

Street on 13-10-1546 A.D (V 80) and endowed it with 2000 panams for daily offerings and lighting

(d) Sri Vittalesvarapperumal.

V 66; 25-3-1546 V 89 6-3-1547

Attached to the temple of Hanumān at the eastern end of Govindaraja Sannadhi Street, was constructed a shrine for Sri Viṭṭhalēśvara Perumal by one Udayagiri Dēvarāya Bhattar who was the Vāsai Kārriyam (Superintendent of the gateway) of Potlapaṭi Sru Timmarāja son of Aravidu Bukkaraya Timmaraja. On 25-3-1546 (V 66) he made an endowment of some lands irrigated by a tank called Ohennappadaiyan-ēri. He granted 4 shares of land in Nedunādu Kulattūr and 10 Rekhai Pon to be collected from the Kōmatis and the merchants of Tirupati and from the merchants of Kottapālaiyam. The inscription gives details of the services to be performed at this temple daily and as ubhayams. What was the income from the sources mentioned above we are not told. But the services covered lamp lighting and paruppaviyal offering on almost all the tingal divasams and visēsha divasams and 6 tirupponakam food offering daily. Govindaraja had also some share of these. The prasadam and panyarams were to be distributed freely to the pilgrims. That this temple became popular is seen from three inscriptions of the very next year. The ones made on 2-2-1547 and 6 2 1547 (V 87, 88) show that Vittalesvara perumal was provided with offerings on 1st Chittirai and during the Māsi Bruh

MINOR TEMPLES CONSTRUCTED

motsavam and for Pāḍiyavēttai festival. These offerings were made by Sāttalur Kuppayyan and by the Prasādakkara Mahāmēdaṅgal. The other inscription (V. 89 ; 6-3-1547) deals entirely with the budget estimate of receipts and expenditure of the temple. The amount of this estimate is stated to be 870 Rekhai Pon. Whether it represented the capital amount subscribed by the merchants of Tirupati, or whether it represented the annual recurring contribution, we are not told. It is however not necessary for our purpose to go into these details. We learn that this small shrine which has gone out of existence now, was at that time made a popular place of worship by the endowments of Udayagiri Deva-
raya Bhattar.

(e) Lakshminarayana Perumal in Alvaritrtam Tirthavari Mantapam. V. 68 ; 20-6-1547.

Tāllapākkam Periya Tirumala Ayyāṅgar consecrated a shrine of Lakshminārāyana Perumal in the Tirthavāri mantapam on the bank of the Alṽar Tirtham on 20-6-1546 and made an endowment of 2300 panam for a food offering of one Tirupponakam daily and a total of 44 more Tirupponakams on certain occasions (viśeṣha divasams etc.,) This shrine exists even now.

(f) Sri Janardhana Perumal. (V 101, 24-11-1547)

In 1547 the Komatis of Tirupati consecrated an image of Sri Janārdhanasvāmi in a temple constructed by them in Kottapālayam, a hamlet of Tirupati. We have seen that they had already

made contributions to the Vittalesvara Perumal of Dēvarāya Bhattar. They now made an endowment of 1565 panams for Sri Janardhana Svāmi raised by subscriptions, for the merit of Potlapati Ramaraja Chinna Timmaraja Maharaja. In addition thereto Aravidu Ramaraja Timmayyadeva Pappu Timma ayya Maharajah also made an endowment grant of Kollur village yielding 100 Rakhai Pon yearly. With these two endowments provision was made for lighting and for offering two vellai tirupponakam daily in this temple. Provision was also made for tirumanjanam and food offerings on most of the tingal and visesha divasams.

Thus in the small town of Tirupati as many as five small temples were constructed in the course of 5 or 6 years to satisfy class and communal aspirations. The only purpose they could have served was to make sure that the prasadam offered were distributed in full among the local residents. Incidentally the archaka in charge would have been in a position to earn some money from pilgrims who would have been regularly invited to visit these shrines, a practice which is prevalent even now.

NEW FESTIVALS

From Saluva Narasimha's days it was usual for each Emperor to make an endowment for one or more new festivals in Tirumalai and in Tirupati. Whether the idea was their own, or whether it was under the inspiration of people in whom the Empero

NEW FESTIVALS, ECONOMIC BENEFITS

had some confidence, it is not known. All endowments for food offerings, called Sandhi offerings or offerings on tingal and visesha divasams, benefited almost exclusively the Sthanattars and the other permanent employees of the temple. But there were also a large number of brahmins and non-brahmins who made a living by doing odd jobs in the temple and by catering to the pilgrims. Festivals gave an opportunity for such men also for deriving some pecuniary benefit by officiating in the Vēdic and Āgamic rituals connected with the proper conduct of such festivals. A detailed analysis of even one festival will be sufficient to elucidate this statement and to show that these festivals served to reduce economic inequalities to some extent. We shall take the Lakshmidēvi mahōtsavam instituted by Achyutaraya Maharaya as an example and consider how the bounty of the King's endowment was spent. They were:—Anugraham (blessing): Iyunni Appa (the astrologer who fixes the auspicious moment for commencement); Lakshmi pratima (the image would have been made of gold), Soma Kumbham (perhaps of silver), Soma pratima, female cloth for the Kumbham, Brahma mandalam and Sesha and other pratimas concomitant thereto; Āchārya, 8 Ritviks, Bhūdānam; the japams with Sṛi Sūktam and Kalpa mantrams, Lakshmi Sahasranāmam; Lakshmi Gāyatri, persons connected with the performance of daily hōma and daily archana; 10 Sumangalis; Vēdapārāyanam by as many persons as were available, and the

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by Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasayyengar¹
He granted the village of Periya Ekkalur yielding

1 (Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai nambi) Srinivasa ayyangar is described in this inscription of 1547 A.D (IV 92) as the son of Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai nambi Kumāra Tattayangār of Sathamarahana gōtram Āpastamba sūtra and yajna Sākha one of the Tirumalai Acharyapurnushas. There is another Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumara Tatacharya ayyan who appears as donor in inscription VI 5 dated 24-9-1583. He is also of the same gotra Sutra and Sākha as the Kumara Tattayangar above mentioned. The name of the father of Srinivasa ayyangar is *Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai nambi Kumara Tattayangar acharyapurnusha* which is may different from *Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumara Tatachariar ayyan* (not called an acharya purnusha) Tirumalai nambi Kumara Tattayangar comes to notice in our inscriptions as the acharya of two men of the princely order as early as 1475 A.D. He himself made two endowments one in 1485 and the other in 1549 (or 1554, the year is doubt fully recorded) He had two sons, Srinivasayyengar being one (perhaps the younger) and Tirumalai Tattayangar the other. Srinivasa ayyangar's endowments are two, one in 1547 and the other in 1562 A.D. Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumāra Tatachariar ayyan's activities in Kanchipuram are said to commence in 1754 A.D. and extend to about 1816 A.D. It is a strange proposition to state that the person whose activities commenced later in the 1754 A.D. was the father of the person whose activities commenced before 1547 A.D. and ended in 1562 A.D.

The Devasthanam epigraphist obviously created a confusion for himself by certain false assumptions. There is a Tolappar ayyangar (brother of the above mentioned Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai nambi Kumāra Tattayangar and therefore uncle of Srinivasa ayyangar) who made an endowment (II 20) dated 7-3-1481. He appears again in the inscription of Srinivasayyangara endowment of 1547 A.D. from which it is seen that Tolappara ayyangar's disciples gathered round Srinivasayyangar probably because Tolappar had no son, and all show honour to Tolappar in the distribution of the donor's share of prasadam, etc. There is another Tolappachariar who was the grand father of Tirumalai Kumara Tatachariar ayyan and the father of one Ayyivayyengar. He is not described as acharyapurnusha. The Epigraphist assumed that the two names Tolappar ayyangar and Tolappachariar refer to the same person and that therefore Srinivasayyengar was the son of Kumara Tatachariar ayyan.

SOME NEW FESTIVALS

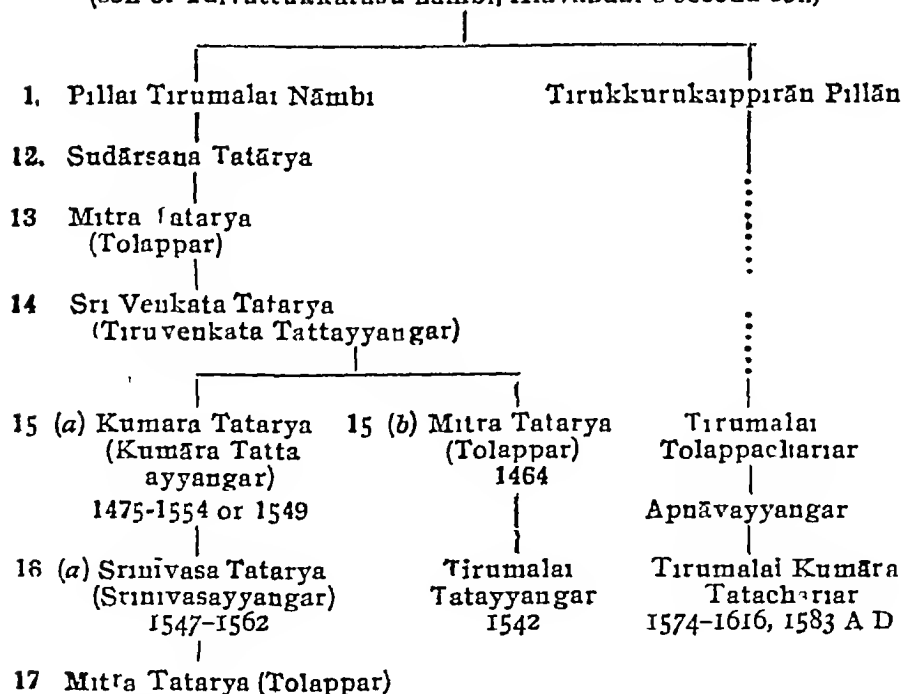
2000 Rekhai Pon yearly for these festivals. This

The fact is that Kumara Tattayangar and Kumara Tatachariar are collaterals descended from the same ancestor Tirumalai nambi, the former from Pillai Tirumalai nambi the first son and the latter from Pullān (Tirukkuraluppirān pullān) the second son (and gnanaputra of Sri Ramanujr) Sottai Ettur Tirumalai nambi Kumara Tattayangar and his brother Tolapparayangar represent the fifteenth generation from Pillai Tirumalai nambi. Ettur Tirumala Tolappachariar of the Pullān family may represent about the same degree from Pillan in which case the members of the two collateral families just ceased to be Trirātragnātis. How a member of the original family was granted the three villages Ettur, Immadi and (Bodipad, or) Rayadurgam was already narrated in Chap XIV p 55. The name of the village where a member of the family had his holdings added the village name as agnomen to his usual family name, Thus there are Ettur, Tatacharis Immadi Tatacharis and Rayadurgam Tatacharis. Ettur Tirumalai Kumara Tatachariar who is said to have done the coronation ceremony of Venkatapathi I in 1616 would have been different from Immadi Tirumalai Kumara Tatachari who did the same for Venkata II in 1630.

The correct genealogy is given hereunder —

Periya Tirumalai Nambi

(son of Taivattukkarasu nambi, Alavandar's second son)



HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

village was given to him as a free gift (dhārāpūrvaka dānam) This Srinivasa ayyangar instituted in Tirupati for Sri Govindaraja another Brahmotsavam in the tamil month of Avanī (V 171 28-7-1562) and also costly atirasappadi offerings to be made in front of his house in Tirumalai on all the festival days tingal divasams and visēsha divisams occuring in a year These would cost 900 Rakhai pon per year The inscription being incomplete other charities included therein are unascertainable. The generology of this donor is incorrectly given in the report on the T T D inscriptions pp 311 to 313 and on page 34 of 'Vol VI' Part II. The accompanying foot note gives correct information

(g) *Vasantotsavam* for Tiruvengadamudaiyan for 5 days in the month of Masi was instituted by Pendlikoduku Timmarājayya. Three villages yielding 200 Rakhai Pon were granted by him for celebrating this festival (V 93 8-6-1547)

(h) *Vaiyāhikōtsavam* (marriage festival) was instituted in Tirupati by Tāllapākkam Chinna Tirumalai Ayyangar for five days in Chittirai month (V 99 17-8-1517) The village of Nediya

The dates given refer to the dates of endowments wherein the names appear. Members of the Pillai family are not acharyapurnas of Tirumalai and Tirupati.

Note —Mitra Tatsya (or Tolappara ayyangar) represents the fifteenth generation from Pillai Tirumalai nambi. He and Tirumalai Tolappachariar of the Pillai family would have crossed the degree of agnateship known as Tristara gatti.

SOME NEW FESTIVALS

and Vēdumapālaiyam were granted for the festivals of Sri Govindaraja, Lakshmi Narayana, Kaṭṭāri Hanumān, Narasimhaswami, Achyuta Perumāḷ, Periya Raghunathan etc.

(i) *Sahasranāmārchana* festival for Tiruvengadamudaiyan for 5 days was started by Sūrappa Reddi. He granted Villiyanallur, yielding 400 Rekhai Pon for this festival (V. 127; 10-5-1557).

(j) *Aravidu Konētirāja Konḍarāja* endowed for the celebration of *Sri Rāmānuja's Sāttumurai* festival in the Ramanujakūṭam Nammālvār temple, Tirupati by granting 10-3/4 share in Nagari village. The annual income from these was 400 R. P. yearly (V. 141 25-5-1553)

(k) *Mārgalī Nīrāṭṭam* festival in Tirupati was instituted by Tiruvadi Raja (Travancore) by the grant of half of Kulaiyapattam village on Tambaraparanī banks. This endowment covered also the Friday festival of Āṇḍāl. (V 158, 16-9-1557)

(l) *A shrine for Sudarsana ālvār* was consecrated on the west bank of the Govindapushkarinī and food offerings were instituted by Tāllapākkam Tiruvēnanathan son of Tirumalai Ayyangar by granting Koṭṭur village, yielding 280 Rekhai Pon annually (V. 159 : 13-1-1558)

(m) *Endowment* was made for *civet oil ablution* on all the 53 Fridays in Tirumalai by Rāyasam Venkatādri by grant of 2 villages yielding 646 R P. This must have supplemented or superceded the grant made by Kṛṣṇadevaraya (V 117; 5-2-1561)

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(n) *Ratha Sapthami* festival in Tirumalai, and *Pallavōtsavam* for Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati for 5 days were instituted by Kāranikkam Appalayyar. He granted Seengalteru, yielding 150 R.P. annually for conducting these festivals. (V 173 26-1-1564)

A longer recital of such festivals may not be of interest to the average reader. It is therefore unnecessary to go here into the details of even the festivals enumerated above. They will however be described in detail in a chapter dealing with Festivals.

Tabular statement of Endowments made from time to time.

The statements given hereunder summarise the endowments made during the various periods from two view points. The first has been prepared from the point of view of the quantity of Prasādams and Panyarams offered which are the primary needs of the pilgrims. The second gives at a glance the endowments made during the same periods, whether in the shape of cash which the Sthanaattar were authorised to utilise for repairs to and for the improvement of irrigation sources in the temple-owned lands or in the shape of whole villages and other lands endowed with the object of their yearly income being utilised for the performance of specific services such as celebrations of festivals, daily and occasional offering of prasādams, burning of akhanda dipams, maintenance of flower gardens, repairs to temple buildings etc.

TABULAR STATEMENTS OF ENDOWMENTS

The first statement differentiates the food offerings made in Tirumalai temple from those in the Tirupati temples. The former includes also offerings exclusively meant for Sri Varahaswami, Sri Narasimhaswami, Sri Ramaswami, Sri Krishna, as in almost all cases they were actually offered in the main shrine of Tiruvengadamudaiyan. In Tirupati although the main Temple is that of Sri Govindarajaswami, there are a number of minor shrines including that of Sri Ramanuja and some of the Ālvārs not to speak of the independent temples of Periya Raghunatha, Achyuta Perumal, Sri Narasimhaswami, and several smaller ones. Wherever the food offerings might have been made, they were all ultimately distributed among or sold to the pilgrims. It was only in the Ramanujakutam of the Nammālvār temple that food was served freely to every Śrivaishnava.

Endowments by individuals for the offering of what was known as sandhi tṛupponakam, came into vogue only from about 1328 A.D., when the Sitakaragandam Sandhi was first endowed. This was followed by the Nārāyanan Sandhi in 1332. Previously there were some villages which had been endowed by the Yādavarāya rulers, in particular, for the conduct of temple worship in general. There were also two villages on the banks of the river Kāvēri which had been endowed by the old Chōla or Pandya Kings, one in Manavirkottam and the other in Payurkottam. Even the names of the villages have however disappeared in the inscrip-

tions. In 1193 A. D. Virarākshasa, Yādavarāya, gave some lands in Kudavūr nādu, the particulars of which are missing in the inscription. In 1209 A. D. Tirukkālattidēva Yādavarāya made a grant of all the nanjai and punjai lands within the limits of the village of Kudavūr. In 1253 the Yādavarāya ratified the edict of the pāndyan kings granting some lands as determined by the residents of Kudavūr nadu, Tondapadipattu and the Vāriya manattān of Agarapattu as asked for by the Sthanattar. The extent is not stated. In 1234 the second half of Payindipalli village was granted to Sri Govindarājaswāmī Temple the other half being stated to have been already the property of Tiruvengadamvdayān. There may not have been much of wet cultivation in these villages since we notice that irrigation channels were excavated more in the 15th century A. D. The income from all the above properties may have been just enough to keep up the establishment. In 1365 A. D., there were only 5 Sandhi offerings including two by Bukkaraya, the first king of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagar. Dēvaraya Mahāraya II instituted 32 Sandhis daily in Tirumalai in 1429. By the end of 1454 A. D. the sandhi offerings rose to 49 a day.

It will be observed from Statement I¹ how inadequate had been the arrangement for the food supply to pilgrims in Tirupati as compared to Tirumalai. The town of Tirupati and the Temple of Sri Govindaraja were founded by Sri Ramanuja to

1 See page 733.

STATEMENT II (a) AND II (b) EXPLAINED

serve as a base for the pilgrims before they commenced their ascent of the hill. But it was only during the reign of Sadāsivarāya that this defect was attempted to be remedied. It must have been this defect which was responsible for the emergence of the large number of pilgrim receivers who came into existence in Tirupati. Kondarāja's Nammālvār temple and Ramanujakūṭam seem to have been the only place where decent and wholesome food were supplied to the pilgrims. But it catered only for Srīvaishnavas.

Statements II (a)² and II (b)³ enable us to form an idea of the financial aspect of temple management during the periods shown therein. Statement II (a) gives the total amount of endowments in cash and in the shape of lands during the six periods into which the history of this temple has been divided in Volumes I to VI of the T. T. D. inscriptions. Statement II (b) shows the value of endowments by the Kings, their officers, the temple hierarchy, the religious hierarchy, merchants and all other Bhaktas. The difference between the two is only in the classification made. Till we reach the reign of Sadasivaraya, details are not given as to the yearly income from the whole villages and other lands endowed, but only the services which the endowment was expected to meet are mentioned. The value or cost of the service is not clearly stated. The cash endowment for offering one tirupponakam or taligai per day perpetually on all the days of a

2 See page 770

3, See page 772

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Statement

Periods	TIRUMALAI TEMPLE			
	Daily		Yearly Ubhayams	
	Prasa dams Taligais	Vagai Padi	Prasa dams Taligais	Vagai Padi
Vol. I T T D Inscriptions				
In 1365 (from 1323 A.D) including Bhul kara yan Sandhi	5		21	1
On 1454 (after Bukka)	44	1	671	0
Vol. II Saluva Narasimha				
After 1454 & in or about 1500 A.D	158	11	3484	670
Vol. III Krishnadeva				
Raya's period.				
After 1500 A D and on 1528 A.D	159	9	3429	1175(b)
Vol. IV Achyutharaya				
After 1528 & on 1540 A D	309	11	29 ^c 6	56 ^c (d)
Vol. V Sadasivaraya				
After 1540 & on 1565 A D	283	3	4 50	9595
Vol VI				
After 1565 and on say 1640 A D	25	3	5978	457(g)

ENDOWMENTS

I.

TIRUPATI TEMPLES

Daily		Yearly Ubhayams		Remarks
Prasa- dams Taligais	Vagai Padi	Prasa- dams Taligais	Vagai Padi	
1 and feeding 32 Brah- mins				
3		399	18	
INCLUDES				
34	4	1027	587 (a)	(a) 116 panyarams
				(b) 58 panyarams
25	24	2038	1334 (c)	(c) 299 panyarams
				(d) 397 panyarams
19	2	1178	716 (e)	(e) 398 panyarams
373(f)	4	7005	3984	(f) 50 deducted from Tirumalai & added on to Tirupati as per arrangement
				(g) 99 panyarams
35	53	778	1449 (h)	(h) 605 panyarams
97		769		

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Periods	In cash Rekhai Pon	Statement Number of villages
Vol. I, T T D. Inscriptions From about 1193 & on 1454		13 villages and Tiru chukanur lands.
Vol. II. Saluva Narasimha's time After 1454 & upto 1500 A.D	15890	31½ villages + 4600 kuli
Vol. III Krishnadevaraya's time From 1500 to 1523 A.D	16720 + 61000 (Krishna devaraya)	23½ villages + 1630 kuli
Vol. IV Achyutaraya's time From 1528 to 1540 A. D	49630	38½ villages + 4020 kuli
Vol. V Sadasivaraya's time. After 1540 & upto 1565 A.D	11590	64 villages + 144 shares + 10000 kuli
Vol. VI. After Sadasivaraya upto 1640 A.D	525	11 villages

ENDOWMENTS

II. (a)

Annual income
Expected
Rekhai Pon

Remarks

— Includes 7100 and odd kuli of wet lands gifted by Samava. Annual income not possible to assess. The value of prasadams and Panyarams may be worth about 1400 R. P.

4700 12 irrigation channels were excavated at an approximate cost of 36500 panams included in the cash shown.

4000 17 villages + 1630 kuli of land by the public would yield about 2000 R.P yearly. Krishnadevaraya's 6½ villages would yield about 2000 R P. judging by the extent of services to be performed

4520 Includes villages granted by Varadajiamman 6 villages; yield 920 R.P

23800

5030 In addition to village grants, irrigation channels were renovated in 11 cases

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Statement

Table showing Endowments in cash and

Saluva Narasimha's
time.

	Cash	Income from villages
	R. P	R. P

1 Endowments made by the king his feudatory Chiefs and his officers and palace officials.	3760	
	1650 (irrigation channels)	4124
2. Endowments by those connected with the temples and dependent thereon viz Jiyas Nambimars Acharya purushas Mathadhipathis Accountants and Emperuma nadiyars	6254	
	2300 (irrigation channels)	
3 Merchants and residents of Tirupati and Chandragiri indirectly depending on the temples	2228	(1650 kull of lands)
4 Other Devotees		40
Total	10492	4164

ENDOWMENTS

II. (b)

by Excavation of irrigation channels

Krishnadevaraya's time.		Achyutarayas's time.		Sadasivaraya's time.	
Cash	Income from villages	Cash	Income from villages	Cash	Income from villages
R. P	R. P	R P	R P	R P.	R. P
35108	3170	34380	2400		
5565	100	7024	1720	4088	6349
763	210	4370	90	5084	...
3290 (approx- imately)	280	2875	3620 (approx- imately)	5433	1583
47716	3760	49649	7730	1964	23734

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

year which was in earlier times 1000 panams or 1200 panams came to be fixed at 1500 panams from the 15th century onwards and till the end of Sadasivaraya's reign. Judging from small endowments for one taligai on a festival occasion in a year we have reasons to presume that the rate of interest was 12% per annum. Even when the endowed amount was meant to be expended on the excavation of or repairs to a source of irrigation the increased yield was taken to be equivalent to 12% rate of interest on the capital expended. Thus if 1500 panam was capital endowment for 1 taligai the amount being expended for improvements to a kasakkāl, the increased yield would be valued at 180 panam the rate of interest being 12%. This would give the cost of 1 taligai per day to be equivalent to $180/365$ panams. But from several large scale endowments for which details are given in the inscriptions what is called a Vellai tirupōnakam made with 1 marakal rice and 1 ollock greengram, etc. cost only $1/3$ panam per taligai. But $1/2$ panam may on the average be taken to be the cost of 1 taligai. During Sadasivaraya's reign a number of varieties of prasadams called Ōgarals Ven pongal came into vogue which cost from $1\frac{1}{2}$ panam to 2 panams a taligai on the average. For purposes of forming an idea of the finances of the temple $1/2$ panam is taken as the cost of 1 tirupōnakam. There were also cakes which were offered in the shape of iddali doṇai vadai manoharam sukhiyan atirasani appani tentolai gollu.

ENDOWMENTS

payasam etc, which varied in cost from 2 to 3 panam for dosa; to 6 to 10 panams for aṭṭirasam, appam and tentolai. The costlier preparations were usually lesser in quantity than the cheaper varieties. They were all classed as vagai paḍi. The average cost per paḍi has been taken for our purpose at 4 panams per paḍi.

The annual income from lands endowed, wherever not specifically given in the inscription, has been estimated on the assumption that the cost of the service would have been entirely met from the annual income. Some of the inscriptions however lead us to think that in several instances the village failed to yield the estimated income and that the donor, or one of his descendants had to endow some other village or pay an additional sum in cash. There is no inscription which states that any part of the income was set apart as contribution for a reserve fund for repairs to buildings and for repairs and maintenance of irrigation sources. Such repairs whenever found necessary seem to have been carried out from cash endowments made by another donor, entirely unconnected with the original donor of the village. Just as barren cows are sometimes gifted to a temple and the temple is made to maintain them, so also villages whose maintenance was a burden seem sometimes to have been endowed to a temple. It then became the responsibility of the managers of the temple to do the necessary repairs to irrigation works and get such annual income as the lands might yield. If the income was not

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

sufficient to meet the cost of services, the latter ceased to be performed. Instances of these have been referred to in this history.

A consideration of the figures shown in Table I would perhaps lead to the following conclusion. At about the end of 1555 A D the number of daily taligais of cooked food which should have been cooked in the temple kitchen in Tirumalai amounted to 958. Each taligai is prepared with 4 measures (nali) of rice. As has already been stated in a temple metal pots are not used. And mud pots are generally so fragile that most of them break soon after the cooked rice is poured on a specially erected stone platform. For facility of handling, pots capable of cooking about 2 measures would generally be used. This means that about 1900 pots would have been used every day. If the pots were twice as large, half the number of pots would have been used. In any case 1900 pots (or 950 if bigger) must have been on the oven each day for the unfailing daily offerings called Sandhi offerings. Considering the space available in the kitchen not more than 100 pots would have been on the hearth at a time. *If each cooking takes 45 minutes the hearth must have been worked 19×45 minutes every day, or 14 hours per day.* Major part of the sandhi offerings (say 3/4th) are made before 2 P M. Unless the kindling of the fire starts at about 4 A.M. in the morning it would not have been possible to complete the threefourths portion of the cooking before 2 P M. This is unlikely since we have seen that there came

ENDOWMENTS

into vogue as many as 439 Visesha divasams in a year of 365 days, when special offerings had to be prepared in addition. In some cases what is known as Tiruppāvadaḥ and Periya Tiruppāvadaḥ had to be prepared necessitating the cooking of 200 marakals of rice, all to be offered before sunset at least.

We may therefore conclude that some at least of the daily sandhi offerings for which endowments have been made were not really cooked and offered. A perusal of the figures given in Part E, of the Chapter on Prasadam would show how the price of food stuffs went on in increasing from year to year and century to century and along with it the cost of cooked food offerings and vagai padai. The Sthanattar would have been put to the necessity of discontinuing very many of the food offerings for which endowments had been made in the past in cash or as lands. There is also the other consideration that in Tirumalai alone there should have gathered daily at least $958 \times 8 = 7664$ pilgrims even in the months of June and part of July; but we know that even in recent times there would have been less than 1000 pilgrims a day resorting to Tirumalai.

Income and Expenditure from Endowments.

Note —The income from cash endowments has been calculated at 12% interest per annum and the annual income from lands (which are explicitly given only during Sadasivaraya's reign) has been calculated from a valuation of the services to be

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

met from the income The periods covered are approximately in accordance with the division made in the different volumes of the T P Devasthanam publications of the inscriptions

Vol. I from about 870 A. D to 1450 A. D

<i>Income (Rekhu Pon)</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	
1400 (approximately)	Daily 58 Taligaia @ 18 R P per annum each	1044
	1070 yearly @ $\frac{1}{2}$ panam each	54
	1 Vagai daily @ 4 panams each	206
<hr/> 1400 R.P <hr/>		<hr/> R.P 1304 <hr/>

Vol. II. (1450—1500)

	R P		R.P
Interest on 1590 @ 12%	1907	192 daily @ 18 3511 yearly @ $\frac{1}{2}$ panam each	3456 175
From lands (about)	4700	7377 Vagai @ 4 per annum each	2950
	<hr/> 6697 <hr/>		<hr/> 6581 <hr/>

		Vol. III (1500—1590)	
Krishnadevarayn Interest on 47720 @ 12,	5706	184 daily @ 18 5467 yearly @ $\frac{1}{2}$ each	3312 273
From villages about	4000	15258 @ 4 P each	6103
	<hr/> 9706 <hr/>		<hr/> 9688 <hr/>

REVIEW OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Achyutaraya		Vol. IV.	(1530—1545)
Income (<i>Rekhar pon</i>)		Expenditure.	
Interest on	49650	328 daily @ 18	5904
R P @ 12% ..	5958	4161 yearly "	
From lands about	4600	½ each	208
		11143 vagai @ 1 P	
		each	4457
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	10558		10569
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Sadasivaraya		Vol. V.	(1545—1565)
Interest on	19590	556 Daily @ 18	10008
@ 12% ..	2350	11155 @ ½ each	558
From lands	23800	9134 Vagai @ 5 P.	
		each	4567
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	26150		15133
	<hr/>		<hr/>

In the above approximate estimates, the cost of a vagai padi has been taken to be 4 panams per padi down to the end of Achyutaraya's reign. During Sadasiva's period, it has been assumed at 5 panam per padi, for the reason that the more costly ones were offered in larger quantities and also because the prices seem to have risen.

It looks as if the income and expenditure just balanced till we reach Sadasivaraya's period. To realise the amount needed for the services it should have been necessary to expend all the cash endowments for keeping the sources of irrigation of all the endowed lands in good repair. We however find no inscription to give us an idea of how, when and on what works the cash was spent.

ANNEXURE TO CHAPTER XX

DONORS AND THEIR ENDOWMENTS DURING SADASIVARAYA MAHARAYA S PERIOD

We will now go into the endowments made during the reign of Sadāśivaraya, the men who made them and the purpose for which they were made. We have already noticed that during the reign of Achyutaraya Mahārāya the only Feudatory Chiefs who made endowments to the temple were Achyutaraya's father in law Timmaraya Salakaraja and his three sons Periya Tirumalaraja, Siria Tirumalaraja and Singaraja. Of these the largest were those made by Singaraya. He made endowments amounting to 10000 panams on two occasions. The father in law's endowment was only 100 panams for a water shed in the Chittakkudu hill the second ascent on the way to Tirumalai. Periya Tirumalai his wife Tathukkōnamma and Siria Tirumala made endowments of 1300 1550 and 1200 panams respectively. The last named was for laying out a street in Tirumalai called Ankanam street for the merit of his sister, Queen Varadajlammaa. Excepting these members of the Salakaraja family there were no other feudatories who made endowments. When however we go to the period of Sadāśivaraya we find that the members of the Aravindu family the Maṭṭa family and Manamapōli family appear as

1. IV 21 of 13 12. I. C. of 1336 A. D. IV 103 of 1311 A. D.

SOLIDARITY OF THE ARAVITI FAMILY

donors, and presumably therefore all of them were the supporters of Sadāsivarāya. Aravīṭi Aliya Rama Raja, who was the Mahā-pradhāni and the brother-in-law of Sadāsivarāya Mahārāya made the largest endowments. The very first one (V 29) made by him on 1⁰-1-1545 shows signs of the solidarity of the Aravidu family. Aliya Ramaraja is the son of Sri Rangaraja and the latter's brother is Potlapāṭi Timmaraja. The inscription not only shows that Aliya Ramaraja endowed *Puduppaṭṭi* village for the celebration of the festival of Mukkoti Dvadasī in Tirumalai and Tirupati for the merit (சுந்தரமயம்) of Sadāsivarāya, but also mentions a smaller endowment by Potlapāṭi Timmaraja of 50 panams for the reading of Tiruvēnkata Māhātmyam in Tirumalai and in Tirupati during the time of God's Tirumanjanam for the combined merit of Sadasiva Maharaya and the Rayar's father-in-law Sriangaraja (the donor's own brother and father of Aliya Rama Raja). Tiny as that contribution is it serves as a solemn declaration made in the temple that Potlapāṭi Timmarāja and his sons will be faithful allies of Sadāsiva Mahārāya and Aliya Ramaraja. In furtherance of this we find that all the sons of Potlapāṭi Timmaraja viz, Timmarājayyan, Viṭṭalēsvāra Raja, Chinna Timmaraja and Pappu Timmaraja, made their own endowments.

TIMMARAJAYYAN'S endowment of 13220 panams (V. 53, 15-7-1545) mentions that it was for the merit of Sadasivarāya and Aliya Ramaraja. It provided for a special panchāmṛita offering in

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

memory of Krishnadēvarāya in order perhaps, to please at the same time Aliya Ramaraja's wife who was one of the daughters of Krishnadēvaraya. This endowment was followed by another of a larger amount in cash (the amount is missing) for several services to Sri Venkatēsvara and to Govindaraja, all for the merit of Aliya Ramaraja (V 78 21-9-1516)

PAPPU TIMMAYYA DĒVA MAHARAJA made an endowment (V 101 24-11-1547) of Kollūr village yielding an annual income of 100 Rekhai pon plus a cash amount of 1565 panams which was paid by the Kōmaṭis of Kottapālayam Tirupati for the merit of his elder brother Chinnu Timmayvadēva Maharāja the income from the endowment to be utilised for the upkeep of the temple of Janardhana perumal in Kottapallem Tirupati. He also endowed Venadu village on 14-1-1555 with an annual income of 250 Rekhai Pon for the tirumanjanam of the Utsava murti and Nāchchimar while seated in his mantapam at the end of Sannidhi Street Tirumalai.

VITTALESVARA MAHARAJA made a grant of three villages (Palamangalam Paranūr and Venakattūr) yielding annually 500 250 300 Rekhai Pon respectively for the celebration of a new festival *Pallavotsavam* for Sri Venkatesvara for 5 days in the month of Vaikasi and ending in Rohini Nakshatra which was the donor's birth star. There are also other offerings included in this endowment. (V 51 5-7-1545)

ENDOWMENTS DURING ALIYA RAMARAJA'S PERIOD

MAṬṬA VARADARAJA who married another daughter of Krishnadēvaraya and who was therefore the shaddaga of Aliya Ramaraja, showed his adherence to Aliya Ramaraja by making an endowment of 312 Rekhai Pon in cash early in 1544 A.D for offering daily one tiuppōnakam to Sri Venkatesvara, besides some other ubhayams (V 11; 1544).

MANAMAPŌLI SRIRANGARAJA son of Ōbalaraja, made a grant of half the village of Eranapākkam yielding 100 Rekhai Pon annually for offering 5 tiupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesvara (V 27; 19-1-1545).

SRIPATI ŌBALĒSVARA RAJA son of Mārurāju Ramarāja made a grant of Pērur (income 300 ghatti varahans) in Konakarai Sirmai for offering daily to Sri Venkatesvara one junnu padī and 8 vellai tirupponakam (V 75; 13-8-1546). (Junnu is prepared by boiling down to thick consistency two marakkāls milk with one viss white sugai and some refined camphor).

TIRUVADI RAJA OF TRAVANCORE also showed his adherence to Sadasivarāya by the grant of half the village *Kuḷāyapāṭṭam* on the banks of the Tamraparni (குடியபாட்டம்) having an annual income of 350 Rekhai Pon for the merit¹ of Vittalēsvara Mahārāja for offering daily 12 tiruppōnakam to Sri Venkatesvara and similarly for Sī Govindarāja. (V. 158; 14-9-1557)

¹ (ஸ்ரீ மஹா மண்டலேசுவர ராமராஜ திமமயய தேவ மஹா ராஜாவின குமாரா விட்டல ராஜயயனுக்குப் புண்ணியமாக),

PENḌLI KOḌUKU TIMMARAJA son of Manainpōli Kamparaja obtained from Erra Timma raja three villages (1) Rangāram yielding 100 Rekhai Pon yearly (2) Viṭṭasēri yielding 50 R P and (3) Bhūdapuram including Kuppam yielding 50 R P annually He endowed these for the purpose of conducting annually *Vasantōtsavam* for Sri Venkateswara for five days in the month of Masi ending in Sravana Nakshatram (V 93; 8-6-1547)

NANDYALA NARAPPA RAJA endowed two villages Paliṇpaṭṭu and Gundippūndi yielding 100 Rekhai Pon for offering 4 vellai tiruppōnakam daily to the Dvārapalakas whom he installed in Sri Govindaraja's Temple (V 122, 18-3-1549)

TIRUMALAI RAJA the brother of Aliya Ramaraja made a cash endowment of 16500 panams for offering 515 aṭirasa paḍi on 515 festival occasions to be offered in the Unjal mantapam constructed by him in Tirumalai (V 168 15-12-1561) called the Tirumalarayan mantapam

ARAVIḌU RAMARAJA KONEṬIRAJA KONDARAJA was the step nephew of *ALIYA RAMA RAJA* There are four inscriptions which give particulars of his endowments viz Nos 1^o 133 141 154 (Vol V) The first endowment V 12^o was made by him on 2-10-1550 by granting ten villages for the purpose of making daily food offerings to Sri Nammalvar for whom he constructed a

KONDARAJA'S ENDOWMENTS

new shrine in the present Govindaraja North Mada Street. The annual estimated income from these villages was 5713 Rekhai Pon. Their names are ·

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Tarkōlam | 6 Palandai |
| 2. Tāyanūr | 7 Mullappaṭtu |
| 3. Malaiyanūr | 8. Kūdaippākkam |
| 4. Attiyūr | 9. Mayyūr |
| 5 Āsūr | 10. Tiruppaḍu |

The food offerings so made were to be used for feeding Śrī Vaiṣṇava pilgrims in the Ramanujakutam attached to the temple. Every arrangement was made to make the food acceptable to even orthodox people. The second endowment (V. 133) was made on 10-3-1552. This consisted of 10½ shares of land in six different places, yielding 30 Rekhai Pon annually and 27 Rekhai Pon to be collected as taxes in Ālvār Mudaliyar Palayam etc. The total sum of 57 Rekhai Pon was to be used for the Sāttumurai festival of Śrī Uḍaiyavar in Tirupatī (costing 51 R.P. and 9 panam) and for certain ubhayams for Śrī Govindaraja, Nammālvār, Sūdīk-kodutta Nāchchar, etc., costing 6 and odd R.P. The third endowment (V. 141) was made on 25-5-1553 by the grant of Nagari village and Viḍu Giāmam with an annual income of 400 Rekhai Pon for the purpose of conducting Adhyayanōtsavam of the Nammalvar installed by him and for the Ani Car Festival and the celebration of the tṛunakshatram of all the twelve Ālvārs and Acharyas installed in Tirupatī. The fourth endowment (V 154) was made

on 27-1-1554 in appreciation of the charitable work that was being done by Kondaraja. The Emperor Sadasivaraya on the meritorious occasion of his visit to Tirumalai on the previous Makara Sankra manam day made a dānam with libations of water of several kinds of taxes. A rayasam was issued on 2-7-1554 enumerating these taxes and charging the officers in the provinces enumerated therein to collect the taxes and to hand them over to the Trustees of the Tirumalai Temple for conducting the charities in Kondaraja's Nammalvār Temple and Ramanujahūṭam. The Emperor also presented 200 bulls bearing the Hamsa mudra for drawing the provision carts such as Teppedu, Pachohaivadam ghee oil and vegetables (தெப்பட்டுக்கள்) 'The taxes to be collected and handed over were :

Navasaranyāsa Vargam	நவசரணியாச வரகம்
Teppāṭṭu Sarakku	தெப்பாட்டுசரக்கு
Mēlakai	மேலகை
Magamai	மகமை
Kōḍai	கோடை
Āyam	ஆயம்
Aruppu	அறுப்பு
Ullāyam	உல்லாயம்
Perāyam	பேராயம்
Magamai	மகமை
Mulaivisani	முலைவிசனி
Taragu	தரகு

1 We do not know what these names of Taxes indicate

SADASIVARAYA'S GRANT OF TAX COLLECTIONS

The sīrmai, nādu and rājyam where these taxes were ordered to be collected for the benefit of the Ramanujakūtam were .

Paḍaividu Rājyam	...	படைவீடுராஜம்
Senjee (singee)	...	செஞ்சி
Tiruvadi	..	திருவதி
Bhavanagiri	...	போனகிரி
Pattanam	.	பட்டணம்
Solamandalam	..	சோழமண்டலம்
Tiruvannamalai	.	திருவண்ணாமலை
Kāñchīpuram		காஞ்சீபுரம்
Chandragiri rājyam	..	சந்திரகிரிராஜம்
Palayam		பாளையம்
Paḷaveikādu	..	பழவேற்காடு
Mudupankarai pattanam		முதுபான்கரைப்பட்டணம்
Penukonda sīrmai	.	பெனுகொண்ட சிரமை
Vadarajyam		வடராஜம்
Udayagiri		உதயகிரி
Kondaividu sīrmai		கொண்டவீட்டு சிரமை

ALIYA RAMARAJA Aliya Rama Raja made an endowment in his own name (V 155; 11-11-1554) besides the one already mentioned, (V 29 in 1545) which was for Sadasivaraya's merit of four villages (1) Singala bhāva (in Raichur Sīrmai) (2) Vala Kōil (in Mudgal sīrmai), (3) Yālalachchēri (in Periyapākkam sīrmai), (4) Mākālipaṭṭu (in Periyapākkam sīrmai), with an annual income of 4000 Rekhai Pon for offering *daily 200 tirupponakam* to Sri Venkatesa as the Mudāl or first prasadam after the dadhyodanam (Maṭrai) offering. It

was also arranged that the donors share of 50 taligais should be daily handed over to Kondarāja's Ramanujakutam in Tirupati from out of the offerings in Sri Govindarajaswami's temple

The total of the endowments made by Aliya Ramaraja and his kinsmen during the reign of Sadasiva Maharaya was 34585 panams in cash and 24½ villages and 10½ shares of sarvamānyam lands having an annual income of 13040 Rekhai pon (130 400 panam) The endowments made by the Sālakarāja family during Achyutaraya's reign

1 The Devasthanam epigraphist seems to have been under a misapprehension that Srirangaraja Maharaya (mentioned in V 143) was a feudatory Chief under Sadasiva Maharaya (vide page X Vol V) The prasaasti of Srirangaraja Maharaya therein given is Sri man Maharajadhi Raja Raja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Vira Srirangaraja Maharaya This is undoubtedly the prasaasti of the Emperor of Vijayanagar The year mentioned is Visvāvasn There are three Visvāvasn years which may be considered for deciding the identity of the person viz 1540 A.D 1605 A.D 1665 A.D The only Sriranga or Ranga who can with any pretence bear the titles of the Emperor was Sadasiva Maharaya's own father who died before Sadasiva ascended the throne in 1542. In the year 1605 Venkatapati I was the ruling monarch and not Srirangaraja. In 1665 A.D Srirangaraja was the Emperor and he was at the time according to historians trying to guard against the treachery and intrigues of his own Provincial rulers the Nayaks and the Golkonda Sultan It is very likely that he worshipped Tiruvengalanatha on the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the Jyeshtha month in the year Visvāvasn (may be 9th May 1665) as is mentioned in the inscription That inscription should have found a place in Vol VI and would fill in the gap between the years 15-5-1638 (VI, 13) and (No. 24, Vol. VI) 18-3-1639 In 1638 Srirangaraja is mentioned in the inscription with the full prasaasti of the Emperor In 1665 there is no mention of any Emperor The former inscription is in Tamil and the latter in Telugu Inscription No 143 of Vol V is also in Telugu and mentions Srirangaraja (with the full prasaasti of the Emperor) as having visited Tirumalai (1665 A.D.)

ALIYA RAMARAJA'S & SALAKARAJA ENDOWMENTS

amounted only to 31600 panam in cash. No lands were endowed. The Aravidu chiefs showed great solidarity and loyalty to Sadāsiva Āya and to Aliya Ramaraja. In this respect we may compare Aliya Ramaraja to Saluva Narasimha, who had the support of all his cousins and kinsmen.

Endowments by Military and other officers.

Another set of people who usually made endowments during the reign of every Emperor are the Generals or Military officers serving in the Empire. Some of them usually mentioned that the endowments were for the merit (punya) of the Emperor at the time. During the reign of Achyutaraya Maharaya almost all of them uniformly made endowments of 15000 panams each. Even the Ubhayams for which the income from the endowment had to be utilised became stereotyped so that 300 appa padī were offered in the aggregate during the year in each case. Adaiappam Bhairappa Nāyakkar also had to make such endowment although he had already made a much larger endowment of 53,300 panams. During the reign of Sadāsivarāya we do not find military officers making any such large endowments. Whatever they did seems to have been done out of their free will. Some of these endowments furnish us with interesting information about the economic condition of the country.

(a) *ATTILANGU NAYAKKAR* of Vema-paṭṭi pālayam endowed 550 panams for making 11 appa padī offerings during the course of a year and

for offering 11 palam chandanam, 550 areca nuts and 1100 betel leaves during the 10 Brahmotsavams and the Nāvalūṭru festival (V 13, 5-6-1544)

(b) *MŪRTI NAYAKKAR* of Kumārapalli purchased $4\frac{1}{2}$ shares of land in Rajēndra Singanallūr village yielding an annual income of 50 Rekhai Pon and half the village of Puduppaṭṭu Konēṭi Kālvay with an annual income of 25 Rekhai Pon and endowed them for certain services among which were the Tōppu festival in his garden mantapam in Tirumalai on Sravanam in Anu month. A number of food offerings in the name of his parents, brothers sisters his secretary and others were also to be made on specified days out of this endowment. The cost price of several articles are given in the inscription. Perhaps it is this Murti Nayakkar who constructed the Murti nayakkar tank in Tirumalai (V 19 7-8-1544)

(c) *KRISHNAPPA NAYAKKAR* made an endowment of 780 panams. The inscription is however not complete. (V 30)

(d) *SEVVU NAYAKKAR* of Prangnādu (along with six others) made an endowment of 2480 panams for the Pādiya vēṭṭai festival of Periva Raghunatha in Tirupatī. He supplemented this by another endowment of 50 Rekhai Pon so that the Padiyavēṭṭai festival of Sri Govindaraja and Sri Krishnan also may be celebrated. Potlapāṭi Chinna Timmayya dēva Maharaya contributed 15 Rekhai Pon to this endowment which would show that

ENDOWMENTS BY MILITARY OFFICERS

Sevva Nāyakkar was an important person. His endowments were confined to Tirupati (V. 86, 13-1-1547 and 102, 4-1-1548)

(e) *SEVVAPPA NĀYAKKAR* of Madippākam Village made an endowment of his own village Madippākam yielding an annual income of 70 Rekhai Pon for offering daily to Sṛi Venkatesa 2 vellai tirupponakam and to Sṛi Viṭṭalēśvara in Tirupati one appa padi on each Amavasya day. *The point to note about this endowment is that he retained in his own hands hereditarily the management of the village (Kāṇiṇākshi) and only agreed to pay 70 Rekhai Pon every year to the temple* (V. 98; 8-7-1547)

(f) *SŪRAPPA NAYAKKAR* made an endowment of the village of Villiyanallur in Viḷuppuram Simai having an annual income of 400 Rekhai Pon for offering daily 4 vellai tirupponakam to Sṛi Venkatesa and in addition for the celebration of a *Sahasranāmārchana festival for Sṛi Venkatesvara* for five days in the month of Masi with ankurarpanam in Makha Nakshatram and ending in Chitta nakshatram. The details of the festival are given in the inscription. He also owned a garden and mantapam in Tirumalai. The details show that he was a man conversant with Sṛi Vaiṣṇava forms of worship. (V. 127; 10-5-1551)

(g) *ARANI TIRUMALAI NĀYAKKAR* made an endowment of the village of ATTIMALAIPATTU on the bank of Seyyāru River, (in the

district of Tachchur attached to the Gandagōpālan division of Raja Gambhira Nādu in Pālagunrakōṭṭam in the province of Padaividu in Jayangonda Sōla mandalam) yielding an annual income of 80 Rekhai Pon for offering daily 3 sandhi tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesvara. (V 138, 1-8-1552) *He however reserved to himself and his heirs the right of Kāṇṭyākshī (Kudivaram) and paid only 80 Rekhai Pon annually to the temple* This is the third instance we notice of such an arrangement during Sadāsivaraya's reign We know that Ogampadi Gangu Reddi did the same (in V 84 dated 3-11-1546)

Besides the above Military Officers there are also *civil officers* who have made endowments Some of these endowments are on a liberal scale for special festivals instituted by them

RAYASAM HARIAPPAR'S endowment is for offering daily 1 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesvara and the amount therefor was 1580 panams (V 21 11-9-1514)

RAYASAM VENKATADRI and his younger brother *RAYASAM KŌNAPPAYYAR* (sons of Timmarasayyar who was the son of Viramarasayya) of Musahmadugu made two endowments The first one was made (V 129) on 5-7-1551 and was by Venkatadri It consisted of 2½ villages, viz Dēsūr grāmam Velanjūnōru grāmam and half of Timma samudram These yielded an annual income of 1030 Rekhai Pon The services consisted of a daily

offering of 4 vellai tirupponakam and one atirasappadi on the 110 days of the ten Brahmotsavams ; similarly 134 atirasappadis on 134 tingal divasams and 6 more for some visesha divasams. All these were for Sri Venkatesa only. He seems to have considered that his endowment was defective. He therefore made a further provision in V. 167 dated 5-12-1561 for 104 atirasappadi for 52 Pulugukkappu days in a year and also for 13 Purvaphalguni nakshatrams which might have been his birth star. He did not omit making offerings to Sri Govindaraja. So he made provision for one alankara taligai daily (costing 117 Rekhai Pon in a year), also for one appa padi daily. His brother *KŌNAPPAYYAN* made in the same endowment a provision of 120 Rekhai Pon yearly for offering daily 4 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Govindaraja. He also granted a number of villages and shares of land (or vritti) in some villages—Āpyūr, Ākāsa Sūriyampattu, Ghantakāna kuppam, Ilaiyāndānpattu, and Perumanāmbattu, 16 vritti in Satravāda, 20 shares in Vēpagunta, 4 shares in Sri Ramachandrapuram, 28 shares in some village the name of which is missing, 10 shares in Panaippākkam and two shares in Puttūr village. The annual income from these villages and lands is stated to have been 646 Rekhai pon. These endowments and the ones made by Karanikam Appalayyar and Karanikam Bhasavarasar are of interest to us for the detailed information they furnish of the Sirmar Nadu, Kottam and Province in which the endowed villages were situated in those days and also for the

division of *śārēś* in villages (presumably *īnam* villages) They also furnish detailed information about the cost of every item of service

KARANIKKA APPALAYYAR, son of Kāmārasappa made two endowments one V 11 on 19-5-1508 and the other V 173 on 26-1-1564 They were in the shape of lands and a village The income from the lands was 155 *Rekhai Pon* and 8 *panams* The village gave a yearly income of 150 *Rekhai Pon* In Tirumalai his *ubhayam* was during the summer festival in the *mantapam* in his flower garden and also on *Brahmōtsavam* days For Sri Govindaraja his *ubhayam* was on all *Hastha nakṣatra* days The second endowment (annual yield of 150 *Rekhai Pon*) was for celebrating *Rathasaptamī* festival in Tirumalai with day as well as night processions In Tirupati he endowed for the celebration of *Pallavōtsavam* (as was being done for Sri Venkatesvara in Tirumalai) for 5 days The total cost of the *Pallavōtsavam* was 114 R. P and 5 *panam* The village of Sengallōru in Gandi *kkōṭṭai Sirmā* was endowed for these The details of lands endowed are —

(V 161) 1 share of land in Tayanur (income 20 R.P)	
2 shares in Viragandanallur	22
100 <i>Kulī manvam</i> land in	
<i>Poraiyal</i> village	90
12 <i>Vritti</i> in <i>Talimarappūr</i>	51 2
5 shares in <i>Alli tūpai</i>	11 6
3½ shares in <i>Davarasappalli</i>	21
	<hr/>
	155-8 R.P
	<hr/>

ENDOWMENTS BY HEREDITARY MIRASDARS

KARANIKKA BHASAVARASAR seems to have made two endowments. As the inscriptions are incomplete, we do not know what these were, in detail. (V. 145 of 1553 and V. 147 of 1554 grant of Kalyanūr). The sum total of the endowments made by these civil officers consisted of cash + 6½ villages and 96 shares of land; their value was 1580 panam plus 1981 Rekhai Pon annually. They compare rather unfavourably with the endowments made by men of this class during Achyutaraya's reign, which amounted to 309186 panams in cash and 10 villages with an annual income of 1300 Rekhai Pon.

ENDOWMENTS BY PERSONS CONNECTED WITH THE TEMPLE.

We have so far considered endowments by persons who had some connection or other with the Emperor and Aliya Ramaraja. We will next see what endowments were made by those who were hereditarily connected with the temple

Archakas (or Nambimars):

VENKATATTURIVĀR, son of Malaininraṇ Bhattar Appayyar made a cash endowment of 2657 panam to be utilised for irrigation improvements to temple lands and from the increased income to perform ubhayam in connection with the Uri-adi festival, for Vannimaiam, Vinayadasami and Pādi-yavēttai in Tirumalai, also for certain festivals in Tirupati for Govindaraja and Periya Raghunatha, (V. 60, 26-11-1545).

APPAYYAN VENKATATTURAIVĀR son of Govindan. He made an endowment (amount not known) for food offering during Tiruppalli-eṇṇohi days to Sri Govindaraja.

Jiyars

One *KOYIL KELVI JIYAR* who was Kartar of Alagiya Manavālan matham and tirunandavanam and who was the disciple of Vānamāmalai Jiyar and another Vānamāmalai Jiyar, the disciple of Ramannja Jiyar jointly endowed in cash 2500 panam for nbhayams in connection with Sri Ramanja's āṭṭai tirunakshatram, the āṭṭai tirunakshatram of Ramanuja Jiyar, for offerings during Brahmotsavam in Tirumalai etc. (V 2, 27-1-1542)

The second endowment, V 80 dated 13-10-1546, was by Vānamāmalai Ramanuja Jiyar (who was Koyil Kelvi also) of 2000 panam for one tirupponakam to be prepared in Sri Govindaraja's temple and to be offered to Sri Tiruvengadamudaiyān installed by him in his matham at Tirupati. This obviously was meant to enhance the reputation of his matham in the eyes of the pilgrims. This is in fact not an endowment to any of the Temples directly attached to Tirumalai. *VADA TIRUVENKATA JIYAR* (not described as Koyil Kelvi nor does he appear to have owned a matham or tirunandavanam) made an endowment of 840 panam (date not mentioned) for offering manoharappadi to Tiruvengadamudaiyān in connection with Koyilalvar Tirumanjanam during the 10 Brahmotsavams and some other

ACHARYAPURUSHAS

ubhayams (V. 94 no date or year). We know that Vangapuram Narayana Setti, one of the merchants of Tirupati made elaborate provision for the conduct of Koyilalvar Tirumanjanam. (Vide V. 25, 19-10-1544).

The total of the three endowments made by the Jiyars is 5340 panams.

Acharyapurushas.

We next go to the āchāryapurushas. The earliest endowment was made by *Anandāmpillai Appayyanagar*, son of Singamayyanagar of Bhara-dwaja Gotra, Yajussakha etc.,. This consisted of the interest on a sum of 500 panams and was for offering during Adhyayanotsavam 1 tiruvōlakkam in Tirunilai as well as in Tirupati on the Kannian siruttambu day V. 7, 1-9-1543 His disciple Vangapuram Narayana Setti made a large endowment of 48900 panams which will be noticed later.

KANDADAI SRIRANGACHARIAR son of Kandadai Bhāvanachāriar (Vādhūla gōtra, Āpastamba Sūtra, Yajussākha), made an endowment of 1500 panam, V 48, 5-7-1545, for making dōsai offerings to Sri Venkatesa and to Sri Govindaraja on certain occasions, such as his father's monthly tirunakthatram Visakham, Kandadai Appan's birth star Avanī Pūram, Kandadai Appu-Annan's, Chittirai Mūlam, his own nakshatram (Ani Svati), Sri Ramanuja's Attai Nakshatram etc.,. From V. 51 5-7-1545 we know that Viṭṭalēsvara Maharaja was his disciple and that he made over to his

acharya the quarter share of, prasadam due to him as donor

SOTTAI ETTUR TIRUMALAI NAMBI SRINIVASAYANGAR He was the son of Kumara Tattayyangar (Sathamarshana Gōtra Apasthamba Sūtra, Yajussākha) and one of the Tirumalai Acharyapurushas. He made an endowment of a village called Periya Ekkalur in Jagadabhi Gutti sirmal yielding an annual income of 2000 Chakram Pon, V 92 dated 3-7-1547 which was granted to him by the Emperor Sadasiva Raya with libations of water and by a copper plate grant. He made provision for the undermentioned services -

- (a) one Alankara taligai daily for Sri Venkatesa consisting of 2 rajana tirupponakam, 4 kūṭṭu karai 4 porikkari 4 sauces 1 oup milk, 1 cup rasāyanam etc. costing 207 Rekhai Pon per year
- (b) celebration of Phaiōtsavam at Tirumalai, lasting for 5 days costing 240 Rekhai Pon
- (c) celebration of Kilaroli ilamai day of Adhyayanotsavam (2nd day of latter 10 days) of Sri Venkatesa and celebration of Tanpiramudu festival in Tirumalai. The two together cost 64 Rekhai Pon
- (d) certain other ubhayams for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Ramanuja costing 29 Rekhai Pon. The total cost of the Ubhayams in Tirumalai was 540 Rekhai Pon

SRINIVASAYYANGAR'S ENDOWMENTS

For Sri Govindaraja at Tirupati :

- (e) 4 vellai tirupponakam and 1 alankāra taligai daily as in Tirumalai ;
- (f) 2 tirupponakam to be offered daily to Sri Venkatesa installed by Poṭṭalapāṭi Timmaraja in the 4th cave of the Alṽvār Tirtham. These two items cost 617 Rekhai Pon per year
- (g) celebration of a new Brahmōtsavam for Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati in the Tamil month of Māsi (13 days) commencing with Ankurarpaṇa in Arudhra Nakshatram (being the birth star of Sri Ramanuja) and ending with Tirthavarī in Viśakha nakshatram being the birth star of Sri Nammāḷvāi. The expenditure on this festival was 670 Rekhai Pon and 1½ panams. There was an additional endowment of 85 Rekhai Pon by some of his disciples mentioned in the inscription and several other minor ubhayams. *Srinivasayyengar* made another endowment (V. 171), on 28-7-1562 (the latter portion of the inscription which is on the south wall of the second prakara of Sri Govindaraja Temple, is missing). The name of the villages granted commences with திருவிளையாட்டம் உள மண்டலம் and there the inscription is left incomplete. But the cost of the services amounts to not less than 930 Rekhai Pon a year. The endowment provided for offering aṭirasappadi on 205 viśeṣha tirunals 217 tingal divasams,

14 visesha divasams altogether 436 athrasa padis costing 482 Rikhai Pon, also for offering daily 4 tirupponakam to Sri Govindaraja along with 2 palam chandanam

SOTTAI ETTUR TIRUMALAI NAMBI KUMARA TATTAYYANGAR is the father of Srinixasayvangar We have noticed that during the reign of Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya he was the most prominent man among the Acharya Purushas He made certain endowments and was the recipient of the donors $\frac{1}{2}$ share in the offerings made by his numerous disciples He should have been for advanced in age when he made an endowment (V 123) (either of 1549 or 1554 A.D) of 3420 panams during the reign of Sadasivaraya making provision for offering 2 vellai tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesa and also to Sri Govindaraja on the occasion of the eattumurai of Senai Mudaliar on Arpasi Puradam The day of the inscription is given as Thursday, Bahula Dasami and Satalyam Nakshatram The tamil numeral given for the year is *perumda* (saka 1471) No Thursday in the Saka year 1471 has Bahula Dasami and Sataya Nakshatram concurrent. On March 29 1554 (Mesa 2 Saka 1476) there is Bahula Ekadasi 52 day and 97 day Satalyam The error being one tithi but such an error is possible He seems to have had two sons One of them Tirumalai Tattayyengar came to notice as the Acharya of Singaraya son of Salakanyadeva Maharaja during the reign of Achyutaraya Maharaya (IV 170 10-2-1542) The other son whom we

TALLAPAKKAM ENDOWMENTS

noticed above was Srinivasa Ayyangar who was honoured by Sadasivaraya with the munificent grant of Pedda Ekkalur village. The two brothers occupied the place of Acharyas to one or the other of the two powerful rival political parties.

The Endowments made by the three Acharya Purusha families (Anandampillai, Kandadai and Sottai Tirumalai Nambi) during Sadasivaraya's reign amounted to 5420 panams in cash and villages yielding annually 2930 Rekhai Pon

The Devasthanam Epigraphist has shown one Ramanuja Timmayyan as an Acharyapurusha (I 26; 22-10-1544) which is a clear mistake. Neither in this inscription nor in No. 3 of Vol. III is he described as an Acharyapurusha.

TALLAPAKKAM TIRUMALAI AYYANGAR and the members of his family (Bhāradwāja gōṭha, Āsvalāyana sūtra and Rik Sākha) Their endowments are to be found in inscription Nos. V 34, 47, 47-A, 55, 68, 71, 99, 153; and 159. Their names are Pedda Tirumalai Ayyangar, Tiruvenkatanāthar, Chinna Tirumalayyengar, Tiruvenkatayyan and Tiruvengalayyar. The total amount of their endowments was 7932 panams in cash and 2060 Rekhai Pon by way of annual income from villages. The family has been connected with the temple from the later days of Sri Krishna Devaraya, as poets, musicians, and propagandists of Sri Vaishnavism in Rayalaseema TIRUMALA-AYYANGAR made an endowment (V. 34; on

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

19-3-1545) of 1020 panams for celebrating the Sattumurai of Ālvār Tirtham Nammālvār (Visakham nakshatram being the 19th day of his Adhyaya notsavam) Again he obtained from Sadasiva Maharaya and Aluva Rama Raja orders for validating the grant of the village of Muttiyālappaṭṭi which he had made sometime earlier for the celebration of ubhayams during Anī Brahmotsavam in Tirumalai but which had to be discontinued subsequently as the village did not yield the income (V 54 dated 3-7-1545) He made now in V 47 dated 3-7-1545 'a last payment of 386 Rekhai Pon to repair the tank and to carry on the ubhayams uninterruptedly Besides the ubhayams during the Anī festival, the endowment provided for offering 6 vellai tirupponakams daily to Sri Venkatesa There was also provision made for the announcement of Aṭulappādu in front of his Sankīrtana Bhandāram for singing songs on the occasion of Nachchiyar tirumanjanam on all the Fridays and for the supply of turmeric powder for the bath Provision was made for the daily tirumanjanam of the Utsavar and Nachchimar of Sri Govindaraja also The cost of these services was 280 Rekhai Pon a year The next endowment V 47 A made by him was probably on the same day It was for the celebration of a Vana Bhōjanam festival in Sravana nakshatra of Kartika month for Sri Venkatesa ; 50 dadhyodhana tallgais and 19 vadai padl were to be offered in this connection The noteworthy information contained in the inscription is the mention of 1st mantapa padl

TALLAPAKKAM ENDOWMENTS

in the names of the twelve nirvāham people (Sthanattar of the temple), the 4½ vagai people, one in the name of Nārana Setti and the last in the name of Tiruppaṇi Pillai. He appears to have attempted to appease all those who had influence in the management of the temple. The names of the Sthanattar according to the inscription are: Ālvār Mudaliar, Narasinga-
raya Mudaliyar, Ilaiya Mudaliar, Ariyarāya Mudaliar, three Nirvāham Sabhaiyar (names not given), two Nirvāham Nambimar (names not given), Periya Kōyil Kōlvi Jiyar and Ilam Kōyil Kōlvi Jiyar (names not given), and Nirvāham of temple accountants. Although this list gives two places for Nambimar and one for accountant, we know that the original and the correct apportionment was two seats for the temple accountants and one for Nambimar. The four and half Vagai as noted in this inscription are: Tirupati residents; (திருப்பதியார்) 1, Sabhaiyar (சபையார்) 1, Nambimar 1, Desantries 1, Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar (accountants) ½, Total 4½ Vagai.

There were also some honoured recipients of prasadam who were not concerned with the administration of the temple. Their names as given in the inscription are Narayana Setti, Tallapakkam Tirumalayyangaṛ (himself), Kumara Tāttayyangaṛ, Chakravarthi Appayyangaṛ, Kandādai Appayyangaṛ, Anandāmpillai Ayyangaṛ, Tirumalayyangaṛ, Doddāyangaṛ Appaṛ, Sukavastu Annan, Appu Annan Appan, Appu Thruvenkatayyangaṛ Jiyar, Annan Nayinaṛ, Venkatatturaivār, Appāchchi Annan Appan, Pallibhattar Maḷaiyannan, Tiruppaṇi

Pillai, managers of Ramanujakutam etc. We see from this distinctly that at least four acharya purusha families were then in existence. We also see that the Prativadhi Bhayankaram family was one of these acharya purusha families. As there is neither a date nor a separate endowment mentioned as having been made for this festival, it must be presumed to have been included in the preceding endowment. The next endowment (the third in fact), V 55 dated 28-1545 was the grant of the village of *Gandama Timmapuram* yielding an annual income of 100 Rekhai Pon and a cash payment of 14 Rekhai Pon and 2 panam, for offering daily 2 tirupponakam taligai and one alankara taligai to Sri Venkatesa. Two of his Sattada Sri vaishnava disciples also made separate endowments amounting to 16 Rekhai Pon for making food offerings as *nbhniynm*. The fourth endowment of Tirumalaiyyangar V 68 dated 20-4-1546 was a cash payment of 2300 panams for making daily food offerings to Sri Lakshminarayana Perumal, whose image he had installed in the Alvar Tirtham man tapam at Tirupati and also for ubhayams on the Tirthavari days of the three Brahmotsavam for Sri Govindaraja, for floating festival, Kartika Sankra manam etc.

The next endowment V 71 17-7-1546 was made by Pedda Tirumalaiyyangar's son Thilipakam Tiruvenkatasathan. It consisted of the grant of the two villages Sēndalūru and Mallavaram, yielding an annual income of 500 and 120 Ghatti

TALLAPAKKAM ENDOWMENTS

Varāhans respectively for the celebration of a marriage festival (Vaivāhikōtsavam) for 5 days for Sri Venkatesa. It was to commence in Anuradha nakshatra and end in Uttmādam in the month of Pangunī. He made provision for certain ubhayams also. Among these were a hunting festival for Tiruvēnkatakrishnan in Tirumalai, the celebration of Pangunī Uttiram for Alarūci Mangai Nāchchiyār in Tirumalai, the celebration of the Avatāra nakshatra of Sri Varahaswami in Sravananakshatra in Arpasi month, an ubhayam in Chittirai Mrgasira being the attai tirunakshatram of his father Pedda Tirumalayyengar, the Sraddha day of his mother Arpasi Bahula Trayodashi, the attai tirunakshatram of Sri Vedanta Desika, the Sraddha day of his elder brother on Anī Sukla Chathurthi, Vaikasi Vaisakham the tirunakshatram of his grand father Annamayyengar etc. Ubhayams were made for Sri Govindaraja also on the Hunting festival day. The next endowment, V. 99 dated 17-^o-1547, made by a member of the family was by Siru Tirumalayyengar (another son of Periya Tirumalayyengar). He made a grant of half the village of Nediyaṁ, yielding an annual income of 150 Rekhai Pon for the celebration of a Vaivāhikōtsavam for Sri Govindaraja for five days in the month of Chittirai, the sattumurai being in Rohini nakshatra. The same inscription mentions an endowment of the village of Vēḍumapākkam for making daily food offerings to Sri Govindaraja, Lakshminārayanapperumāl and Vira Narasingap-

perumāḷ within the temple of Kaṭṭāṁ Hanuman. Numerous other festival offerings are also mentioned. The grant by Kandaḍai Appaṇ of Vādhūla Gotra, of half the village of Puṇṇiyam with an income of 60 Rekhai Pon for making certain paḍi offerings on certain festival days is also included in this inscription. The inscription also shows that several persons holding high places in the temple were anxious to add their own quota of service.

TALLAPAKRAM TIRUVENGADAYYAN
GAR son of Siru Tirumalayyangaṛ and grandson of Periya Tirumalayyangaṛ made his own endowment V 153 dated 19-2-1554 Mallavaram which he endowed in 1546 (V 71) for celebrating the Vairāhikōtsavam of Sri Venkateśa. failed to yield the anticipated income. So he endowed in place of it Dēvarāyapaḷḷi in Vinukonda Sirmā yielding an annual income of 470 Rekhai Pon. Out of this amount 140 Rekhai Pon were to be appropriated for the Vairāhikōtsavam leaving 330 Rekhai Pon for certain new services. These new services consisted of a daily offering of navaṇitam (3 ollocks butter 1 ollock honey one uri ghee and $\frac{1}{2}$ visai sugar) and one rājāna tirupponakam all costing 109 R. P. and 5 panam and 2 Bhagālabāth taligai daily costing 39 R. P. and 5 panam yearly. These were daily offerings for Sri Venkateśa. Besides these he arranged for certain nḥayams and for cash payment to those who sing Iyal Prabhandams and his fathers Sankirthanams during the processions. The inscription also mentions the grant of 20 shares

ENDOWMENTS BY THE ACCOUNTANTS

of wet land in Tūppil agraḥarm by Tallapakkam Tiruvengalappa son of Chinna Tirumalayyangaṛ, for certain ubhayams. An endowment of Ambattūr village with an annual income of 400 Rekhai Pon is also included in this inscription. One point of interest is that a Tiruvenkadamudaiyaṇ was installed by him in the Pedda Chimugu Hill and 2 tirupponakam taligai were offered daily to this Deity for the merit of his mother Pedda Mangamma.

TIRUNINRA-UR-UDAIYARS The temple accountants have also made their endowments, *KUPPA VENKATATTARASU* made an endowment of 1282 panams, V. 5; 5-2-1543, for the merit of his mother Piramatal for making offerings to Alermel-Mangai and Gnānappirān. He made a second endowment for 530 panam, V. 64 on 11-3-1546, mainly for Vārahaswami. A third endowment was made by him and some other members of his family (V. 67, 11-3-1546). This was partly in the shape of an irrigation channel costing 400 panam and a cash payment of 565 panam. The object of the endowment were the celebration of Nūṛrandadi நூற்றந்தரந்தி festival during Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati for Śrī Govindarāja.

TIRUVANTĀLVAR KUPPAYYAN He made five endowments in all. His first endowment, V. 6; 16 2-1543, was made in 1543 and consisted of a sum of 1500 panam for offering one tirupponakam daily to Govinda Krishnan, installed by him in Bhashyakar street, in Tirupati. The second endow-

ment (V 15) was made in 1545 and consisted of 300 panams presumably, for the Tirumanjanam of Govinda Krishnan every Robini nakehatra, for food offerings during Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Udayavar in Tirupati, for Tannir mudu festival etc. The third endowment (V 52 A.) is found in an inscription which mentions neither the date nor the amount but mentions only the nature of the services. They were tirumanjanam and paruppaviyal offering for Sri Hanuman. The fourth endowment (V 58, 31 10 1545) was made on 1545 and was for an amount of 2210 panam for offering 1 tirupponakam daily to Sri Govinda Krishna. The fifth endowment is found in an inscription V 115 which does not give the date or the amount, but mentions only certain dosai padi offerings.

An endowment of 2240 panams for offering one tirupponakam daily to Tiruvenkata Gopala Krishnan (V 39, dated 18-11-1545) installed by another donor Periyasolai (a temple account) in the Bhasbyakar Street in the eastern end. This was probably in competition to the former. A second endowment (V 82) was made by the same donor on 25 10 1546 for food offerings to the same Deity including a night offering of one tirupponakam.

The total of the endowments by the temple accountants was 11702 panams.

EMPERUMANADIYAR.

The vestal virgins were not behind the others in making endowments. Among them were Sell

ENDOWMENTS BY SANIS AND DOOR KEEPERS

Hanumasāni, Lingāsāni, Tiruvenkatamanikkam, Senbaka Vengu, Nāgāsāni and Sevvu Sāni.

Sell (belonging to the Kaikkolar caste) made an endowment of 1120 panams for the tirumanjanam of Utsavar in Tirumalai in Rohini in the month of Tai at the time of the harvest festival. (V 9, 21-11-1543)

Lingasani and Tiruvenkata Manikkam. They were the daughters of Tiruvenkata dāsi and disciples of Kumara Tattayangar. They made an endowment of 1600 panam for food offerings during the summer festival in the stone-car mantapam in Tirumalai. There is another inscription in favour of Lingasani, but this does not show the amount. V. 32 dated 26-2-1545 and V 104 dated 23-3-1548.

Senbaka Vengu. She was the daughter of Tungachchelvai Timmai and the disciple of Kumara Tattayangar. She made an endowment of 600 panam for making food offerings.

Nāgāsāni. She was sent by Achyutaraya. She made an endowment, but the amount of it is missing in the inscription. (IV. 46, 20-7-1547).

TEMPLE DOOR-KEEPERS OF THE BIG GOPURAM.

(Koyiladis).

The temple door-keepers headed by Tirumalikaran, made an endowment of 570 panam for food offering on the Yugadi day and on a Brahmotsavam festival day. (V. 70, 20-6-1546)

Vinnappam Seyvār

One of the Vinṇappam Seyvār Tiruvenkata Bhayakkāra Ayyapaṭṭar, son of Tiruvenkataperumālaraiyar constructed a mantapam in front of his house and made an endowment of 2455 panams for making food offerings to Utsavar during festival. He was obviously performing in Tirumalai the same function which the Aralyars have been doing in the Srirangam Temple.

Lessees of Temple Prasadas (Prasadakkarar Mahamedangal.)

The lessees of temple prasadas made endowments of 1850 and 3260 panams for making food offerings to Sri Viṭṭalēśvaraswami and for Sri Govindaraja (V 88, 6-2-1547).

Temple Astrologers.

We came across during the latter part of the reign of Achyutaraya one Venkatadri Ayyan, son of Yāandalūr Tirumalai Jōsyar (Viṣṇuvardhana Gōtra Asvalayana Sūtra and Rik Sākha) who on 20-11-1538 endowed a village (name missing) in Poṭṭaplnādu Sirmal with an annual income of 700 Rekhai Pon for offering daily to Sri Venkatesa 24 vellai tirupponakam 24 nīyakn tallgai and one Akhandam fed with one marakni of ghee. Another son of Tirumalai Jōsyar by name Sri Rama Bhattar endowed (V 1) on 21-7-1541 two villages Muttūr in Siddhavattam Sirmal with an annual income of 100 Rekhai Pon and Pudukkal in Padavidu Rajyam.

ENDOWMENTS BY TEMPLE SERVANTS

yielding annually 200 Rekhai Pon for offering daily 4 vellai tirupponakam. A third son by name Malayappar made an endowment V. 131; 30-7-1551 of two villages Tadapālam in Sīlakonda Sirmāi (Uttara rajya) and Tandalam in Padavidu Rajyam with annual incomes of 100 Rekhai Pon and 200 Rekhai Pon respectively for a daily offering of 4 vellai tirupponakam.

The endowments of the three brothers would have yielded annually 1300 Rekhai Pon. It does not appear that they were in any way connected with the Tirumalai temple administration. But considering that the villages endowed by them were situated as far apart as Padavidu and Uttara rajya, the family should have had a high reputation as astrologers and should have been in affluent circumstances.

Another donor who deserves notice is *UDAYAGIRI DĒVARAYA BHATTAR*, the son of Udayagiri Narasinga Bhattar of Vasishṭha gotra, Asvalāyana Sutra and Rik Sākha. He was evidently an Archaka by birth. But we are not sure whether he was so by profession. He appears first as the recipient of $1\frac{1}{2}$ taligai of prasadam daily in Tirumalai Manamapoli Singaraja bestowed on him which on 19-1-1545 (V. 28) as charity. We next find him on 8th January 1546 as the donor of 1600 *panam* for maintaining two water sheds (V. 61). In this connection we are told that the Sthanattar made to him a free gift of $2\frac{1}{2}$ taligai of prasadam daily from the common pool of prasadams or *Sthanappoduvu* in

Govindaraja temple Tirupati Part of this (1½ taligai) was to be used by him for feeding those employed in his water shed. The latter were paid monthly wages of 4 panams. The water sheds were situated in the Vyāsārāya mantapam in Govindaraja North Mada Street and in a mantapam constructed by him in the Sanna kanava near the first ascent of the Hill. He appears next as one invested with some authority In V 66 dated 25-3-1546, he is described as the *amēṣṣaṣṣuṭ* (managers of affairs outside the palace doors) of Poṭṭapāṭi Chinna Timmayyadēva Maharaja He founded a small village below the Ohennapadaiyān tank, named it Viṭṭhalēsvarapuram, received a gift of 1 share of land in another village called Nedunāḍukulattur and obtained the right to collect 30 Rekhai Pon from the Tirupati Komatis and from the Tirupati and the Kottapalayam merchants. He also excavated an irrigation channel Vittalesvaran Kālvāy for the cultivation of certain lands in Varadarajapuram alias Tiruchohukanur All these he endowed for the maintenance of the temple of Vittalesvarasvami and for Sri Govindaraja This shrine of Viṭṭhalōsvara was in a part of the Hanuman Temple opposite to Sri Govindaraja Temple The Tirumanjanam and food offerings were arranged with great discrimination and included several tungal divasams visesha divasams and festival days. We are not told what the total income from the endowment was but the services are listed in the inscription He evidently wanted to do more for we find him

ENDOWMENTS BY TEMPLE SERVANTS

(V. 89) on 6-3-1547 (*i.e.*, 1 year later) making another endowment by raising subscriptions from the merchants of Tirupati. The amount is not mentioned in the inscription, but the total expenditure amounted to 1280 Rekhai Pon a year. This inscription is of very great value to us as it gives in detail all the items of expenditure which an ordinary temple had to incur in a year in those days. We also see at a glance the various services to be performed. These details will be used in considering with the economic condition of the country during that century. He made two other endowments, one V. 90; 12-5-1547 for an expenditure of 104- $\frac{3}{4}$ panams yearly for the 5th day festival of Kodai Tirunal for Sri Govindaraja, and the other V. 91, 1547 of a capital sum of 2800 panam for certain Ubhayams for Sri Govindaraja and Achyutaperumāl and for certain food offerings during Sri Venkatesa's Purattāsi Brahmotsavam.

We have seen that the merchants of Tirupati responded to Devaraja Bhattar willingly. On his account some of them have made large endowments.

He made a last endowment V. 100 dated 14-11-1547 for the benefit of Sū Vittalēsvara temple by collecting yearly 52 Rekhai Pon—from the merchants of Tirupati 30 R.P. to be paid as magamai by the merchants trading in the ankanam of Periya Rājavidhi constructed by Poṭlapāṭi Timmaraja; 10 Rekhai Pon to be paid by the pearl merchants and 12 Rekhai Pon by the merchants who trade during Purattāsi Brahmotsavam in the Viṭṭhalēsvarasvami

temple site There was already surplus of 70 Rekhai Pon on hand to be added to this.

Kālatti Setti made an endowment of 1085 panams on 31-12-1543 for certain food offerings on days selected by him for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Varahaswami

Vangūpuram Narayana setti, son of Periya Nāgu Setṭilar made an endowment of 48,900 panams of which 43900 was by him and the remaining 5000 by 17 members of his family *He was the disciple of Anandampillai Ayyangar* It is also seen that he was a shroff dealing in gold (Kāsukkadaḷ) Even in those days it seems to have been the practice for pilgrims to purchase Kāsus in exchange of current coin, so that those who have taken a vow (particularly children to put into the hundi or Koppara, handful or dōsudu of Kāsula) may do so The ubhayams were in Tirumalai as well as Tirupati In Tirumalai he instituted his ubhayam of *Kōyil āḷṭār tirumanjanam*. For Sri Govindaraja he arranged a daily offering of one Vaḍai padi and pānakam etc., every day during the evening tōmāla sōva (cost of Tirumalai and Govindaraja offering 187 R.P) one Sandhi offering daily to Tiruvaḷi Alvān, 160 Rekhai Pon a year etc, He did not forget to offer some in the name of his acharya. His acharya was the recipient of a large portion of the donors share.

One *Appayya Setti* made an endowment of 850 panam for food offerings on occasions.

ENDOWMENTS BY DEVOTEES

One *Govindi* made an endowmsnt of 2180 panams for making food offerings to Sri Venkatesa and Sri Govindaraja on festival days. She was a shepherdess and the endowment was for the merit of her parents and sister. She owned a garden and mantapam in Tirumalai.

Two others of shepherd caste *Ellan* and *Narasayyan* (Vadukkur Idaiyar) made an endowment of 850 panams for the purpose of food offerings to Sri Govindaraja and Sūdikkodutta Nāchchār and Tiruvāli Ālvān on festival occasions.

Endowments by persons unconnected with the temple administration.

Endowments made by persons who were be mere devotees and who had no financial interest in the temple. The more prominent of these are:— Bhayakkara Ramappayyan, Gangu Reddi, Nagara Padandaiyan, Vangāpuram Timmana Udaiyar, Channamman, daughter of Pratapa Ellamarasar.

BHAYAKKARA RAMAPPAYYAN. He was the son of Rayasam Timmarasayyar, who flourished during the reign of Achyutaiaya Maharaya and made endowments in his time. One of these was the grant of the villages of Chīrāla, Pērāla and Andupalle on 8-9-1538 with an expected annual income of 500 Rekhai Pon for the purpose of offering daily 16 tirupponakam and one appapaḍi to Sri Govindaraja. After a few years the Sthanattar found that it was not possible to realise the income from these villages and that the services had

to be stopped Therefore his son Bhayakkāra Ramappayyar granted in lieu of these three villages half of the villages of Kulattūr (east of Nedunādu Eechambādī village) with an annual income of 150 Rekhai Pon and the whole village of Koppōli in Manamapōli Sirmāi with an annual income of 350 R.P In this manner he made sure that his father's endowment did not fail (V 17, 14-6-1544)

The same inscription includes other endowments made in his own name, an endowment of the villages of (1) Parachūr in Addanki Sirmāi yielding 150 R.P yearly, and (2) Karuchchūru in Gandikōtai Sirmāi yielding 80 Rekhai Pon (Total 450 R.P) With this amount he arranged for offering 19 more tirupponakam taligai daily to Sri Govindarāja, (15 in his own names and 4 for the merit of Rachcharasayyar's son Krishnappayyar) He also arranged for offering daily one tirupponakam to Tiruvāli Alvan Lakshminarayana, Sri Andal and Achyuta perumāl The total was 26 tirupponakam daily

GANGU REDDI of Ōgampādu village He made three endowments The first which for 1500 panams was made in Achyutaraya's time on 19-2-1535 His second and third endowments were made during Sadasivaraya's reign They consisted (V 3) of 10080 panams on 11-9-1542 and one village and a half (Keralagunta and Alameimangai full) V 84 on 3-11-1546 with an annual income of 120 R.P The ubhayams on the former were 6 tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesa and to Tiruvāli Alvan Govinda Krishna and Govindarāja in Tiru

OTHER PRIVATE ENDOWMENTS

pati on certain occasions Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyan was offered 4 tirupponakam daily and certain ubhayams on other days.

NĀGARA PADANḌIYAR He seems to have obtained a gift of some village with an annual income of 300 Rekhai Pon from Sadasivaraya and to have endowed it to the Tirumalai Temple for offering daily 4 tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesa. As this village failed to yield that income he endowed instead half the village of Tippanapuram in Penukonda Sirmai with an annual income of 300 Rekhai Pon. He also paid in addition 100 ghatti varāhan for improving the tanks and channels in that village. (V. 77; 10-8-1546).

This is the only inscription in which Sadasivaraya is mentioned with the prasasti "Purva Dakshina Paschima Uttara Samudradhisvara" in addition to the usual Maharajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Sri Vira Pratapa. It is however an exaggeration to include Uttara Samudram as having been under Sadasivaraya's rule.

VANGĀPURAM TIMMANNA UḌAIYAR. He made an endowment (V. 81; 13-10-1546) of 12000 panam for offering daily 6 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesvara. The donor's quarter share was to be delivered to Vangāpuram Narayana Setti, a merchant of Tirupati, for the purpose of maintaining a water shed in a mantapam which had been constructed by his father Ellappa Uḍayār at the foot of the Tirumalai Hill.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

CHINNAMBAN daughter of *PRATĀPA ELLAMARASAR* She made a grant of the village of Vankayalapaṭṭu (Sriramachandrāpuram) in Kondavidu Sirmāi with an annual income of 300 Rekhai Pon for offering daily 10 vellai tirupponakam to Sri Govindaraja and 9 to Sri Viṭṭhalēsvara (V 118 8-7-1547)

There are also a number of other donors whose endowments are noted below They are for various services and not exclusively for services to Sri Venkatesvara.

		Panamis
	1 Āttukūru Singarayya (21 3 1545)	150
	2 Vangapuram Tiruvenkatayyar (1 5 1545) Kaṭṭilarpaṭṭu village income yearly	300
	3 Sōttalūru Knppayyan	2550
	4 Dēsantri Pērarulalayyan	140
	5 Eṭṭar Srinivasar	450
V-8	6 Ellappa Pillai (3 10 1543)	2580
V-12	7 Sevvu Setti (11 5 1544)	980
V-24	8 Ārumilli Appayyan (13 9 1544)	1800
V-31	9 Tirumalamman (15 2-1545)	4100
V-42	10 Periya Kōnōri Setti 1545	3200
V-44	11 Singarayya (21 3 1545)	150
V-56	12 Hanumayyan (2 10 1545)	3750
V-49	13 Tiruvenkata Kouru (5 7 1545)	10
V-76	14 Tirumalamman 18 8 1 46)	1000
V-95	15 Koppū Setti (14 12 1546)	2000
V 108	16 Tinnayyan	600
	17 Tiruvenkatadasar (1545)	3600
		<hr/> 26,920

CLASSIFIED LIST OF DONORS AND THEIR ENDOWMENTS.

Aliya Ramaraja and other Chiefs.	Cash	No. of villages	Annual income in panams
V-29 Aliya Ramaraja	50	Puduppattu	5000
V-53 P Timmarajayyan	13220		
V-78 do ...			
101 Pappu Timmaraja	1565	Köllur	1000
156 do ...		Venadu	2500
51 Vittalesvara Maha- raya ...		{ Palamangalam Paranur Venakattur	10000
do			
do			
11 Matla Valadaraja	3120		
27 Manapoli Ssiranga- raya		Errapakkam	1000
75 Sripati Obalesva rappa ...		Perur	3000
158 Tiruvadi Raja ...		Kulaiyapattam	3500
93 Pendlikoduku Timmaraja ...		{ Bangaram, Vittasēri, Bhudapuram	2000
168 Tirumalaraja	...16500		
125 Araviti Kondaraja		Ten villages	57130
133 do ...			570
141 do ...		Nagari & Vidu	4000
155 Aliya Ramaraja ...		Four villages	40000
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
34455		27½ villages	126700
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Generals, etc.	Cash	No of villages	Annual income in panams.
13 Attilangu Nayakar	550		
19 Murti Nayakkar		$\frac{1}{2}$ village + $4\frac{1}{2}$ shares	750
30 Krishnappa Nayak	780		
86 Sevvu Nayak	2480		
102	500		
98 Sevvappa Nayak		1	700
127 Surappa Nayak		1	4000
138 A. Tirumala Nayak		1	800
	<hr/> 4310	<hr/> $3\frac{1}{2} + 4\frac{1}{2}$ shares	<hr/> 6250 <hr/>

Civil Officers

21 Rayasam Hari			
	appar	1580	
129 Venkatadri		$2\frac{1}{2}$	10300
167 , do			
his brother		4 + 96 sh	6460
161 } Karanika Appa			
173 } Inyyar (two)		1 + lands	3058
145 147		1	
	<hr/> 1580		<hr/> 19818 <hr/>

Archakas

V 60 Venkatatturnivar	2657
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CLASSIFIED LIST: DONORS AND ENDOWMENTS

Jiyars.	Cash	No. of villages	annual income in panams
V-2 Koyil Kelvi Jiyar	2500		
80 Vanamamalai			
Ramanuja „	2000		
V-94 Vada Tiruvenkata „	840		
	5340		

Acharyapurushas.

V--7 Ananda Appayyar	500		
Kandada Srirangachariyar	1500		
97, } Sottai Tirumalai			
171 } nambi Srinivasa-	1		20000
ayyanga: ...	not known		9300
123 do Kumara			
Tattayyangar	3400		123
	5420	1	29300

Others connected with the Temple.

Tallapakam Tirumalai			
Iyengar ...	7932		20600

Tiruninra-ur-Udaiyar.

V-5 Kuppa Venkattarasu	1282		
64 do ...	530		
do ...	1065		

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Tiruninra ur-Udaiyar	Cash	No of villages	Annual income in panama.
6 Kuppayyan	1500		
15 do	300		
58 Another	2210		
59 Periyasala	2240		
82 do	2575		
	<hr/> 11702 <hr/>		
Emperumanadiyar	3329		
Door keepers	570		
Prasadakkarar	2455		
Tirumalai Jotynr sons		1	17000
Udayagiri Devaraya Bhattar	4600		13320
Merchants	53855		
	<hr/> 69920 <hr/>	<hr/> 1 <hr/>	<hr/> 26320 <hr/>



CHAPTER XXI.

THE ARAVIDU EMPERORS OF VIJAYANAGAR AND THE TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE.

1565 — 1665

Historians have not told us what was the fate of Sadāsivadēva Mahārāya after the battle of Rākshasa tangadi or Tālikōta in 1565 A.D. and when he died. It is also doubtful whether Araviṭṭi Bukkarāja Ramarāja Sīrangarāja Tirumalarāja (the brother of Aliya Ramarāja) really ascended the throne as Emperor in succession to Sadāsiva Mahārāya and if so when. Whether Sadāsiva Mahārāya left any sons whose claims were succeeded is also not known. Nor is there any inscription in Vol V or in Vol. VI of the Devasthanam inscriptions to show that Tirumalarāja was at any time recognised as the Emperor. The first member of the Aravidu dynasty to appear in the inscription as Emperor is Sīrangarāja. This inscription is dated (V 3,) 16-1-1583.

The period between 1565 and 1583 deserves scrutiny in the light of two of our inscriptions, viz No. 174, of Vol V and No 2 of Vol VI. We have already noticed that No. 173 (Vol. V) dated 26-1-1564 which was made one year before the battle of Talikota distinctly states in the preamble that Srīman Mahārājadhirāja Rājapālamēswara Srī

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Virapratāpa Sri Vira Sadāsivarāya Moharayar was the Emperor ruling at the time. The next inscription in Vol V No 174 is dated Friday the 7th tithi of the pūrva pakṣham in Kumbho month and Bhāṇi Nakṣatra of the cyclo year Srimukha Saka 1495 (29th January 1574 A.D). In this inscription the preamble gives a prasasti slightly different from the usual form. It omits or leaves blank the name of the Emperor ruling at the time. It reads: When Śrīman Mahāmandalēśvara Rajadhīrāja Rajaparamēśvara Śrī Virapratapa Śrī Vira _____ was ruling the kingdom.

The birudu Mahāmandalēśvara Rajadhīrāja denotes perhaps a lower dignity than Mahārājadhīrāja. It would not have been used if at the time Sadāsiva Moharayar was alive or was ruling the kingdom. Reading through the text of the inscription another peculiarity is noted. The Sthanattar, evidently acting under the orders of some one whose name is left blank, but who is described as the son of Araviṭṭu Bukkarāja deva mahārayar of Atreya-gōtra Apasthomba Sūtra and Yajus Sūkha _____ are stated to have made over in perpetuity to two persons Arulalar and Karunakaraiya (related to Maṇḍūr Appan) the one fourth share (donors' share) of the pādams which were being offered in the name of Achyutaraya Mahārāya. The name of the then Emperor who was evidently no Sadāsivaraya is omitted. The order authorising the Sthanattar to dispose of once for all Achyutaraya's share emanated from the Emperor but

from the son of a certain Aravitti Bukkarāya Maharayar. We know that at this time Araviti Bukkarāya ... Tirumalarāya was the most prominent man in the Empire, even if he was not the Emperor. We may therefore conclude that Tirumalarāya was the Emperor at this time and that it should have been one of his sons, either Sūmanga or Venkatapatidēva, who empowered the Sthanattar to act in the manner they did. But though Tirumalarāya was the Emperor, he was evidently not for his name being mentioned in the inscription as Emperor. Considering the tragic circumstances of the Empire when he was called upon to ascend the throne and the uncertainty of retaining the Empire such an attitude may be considered natural in a person of Tirumalarāya's nature. The omission of the names in the inscription might have been deliberately made.

The next inscription relating to this transition period is VI-2 of the date 27-11-1579. The preamble in this inscription shows a clean break from all the previous and the subsequent ones. There is no reference to any ruling Emperor. It starts with 'Subhamastu, Svasti Sri' and proceeds to recite the date of the inscription as Saka 1501, Pramādi samvatsaram, Vrischika māsam, purva paksha dasami, Friday, Uttirattādi nakshatram. The details about the donor are given next, Komāndūi Appayyan, son of some Appa Ayyangar of Jayangonda Sōla mandalam. Next come the details of the food offerings to be made and

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

the nature of the endowment this being the excavation of a spring channel for irrigation (kasakkāi) The Sthanattar in Tirumalai state that they accept the endowment under the orders of the Sri Vaishnavas of Tirumalai. This is not the usual form of subscription in inscription. The usual ending is 'இப்படிக்கு ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்கள் பணியால் கோயிலுக்கு திருவிளக்கு அருடையான எழுந்த இவை ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவ இராமே' But this inscription ends thus "திருமலை ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பணியால் திருமலையில் உதானத்தாரோடும்

இப்படிக்கு கோயிலுக்கு திருவிளக்கு அருடையான எழுந்த இவை ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவரோடு' In the next inscription viz., VI. 3 (16-1-1583) the usual preamble 'Subamastu Svasti Sri Srīman Mahārājādhirāja Rājapara mōsvara Sri Virapratāpa Sir Vira Srīrangadēva Maharāyar ruling the kingdom ' makes its appearance again

The confusion during the interval might have been due to the fact that the capital of the empire was somewhere away from Vijayanagar or Chandragiri and that the Sthanattar did not get any authentic information about the state of the Empire and the Emperor

The Devasthanam Epigraphist in his note on page 2 (Vol VI) and in his Report (page 309) states that Tirumalaraya ascended the throne about 1575 A.D. having at the same time shifted his capital to Penugonda and that his reign was a brief one lasting for two or three years during which time his second son Srīrangaraja (Ranga II) was co-regent

STHANATTAR IGNORANT OF THE EMPIRE'S FATE

with him. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar also states on pages 308, 309 of Vol. II. of his History of Tirupati that as the battle of Talikota went against the Hindus, Tirumalāyā removed the capital from Vijayanagar to Penugonda and that his reign commenced about 1575 A.D. Dr. Ayyangar also states that Tirumalāyā in his own lifetime appointed his third son Venkatapati as the Governor of the southern part of the Empire with headquarters at Chandragiri. We have seen that in inscription VI. 2 which is dated 27-11-1579 there is no mention of an Emperor. If an Emperor was believed to be ruling, the Sthanattar would not have omitted all references to him.

Inscription No. 3 (16-11-1583) reverts as has already been pointed out to the recognised pattern of preamble. It therefore looks as if for nearly 18 years after the battle of Talikota, the Sthanattar did not definitely know whether the Hindu Empire continued to exist or not. The donor in No. 3 is one Tillappa Nāyakkar, residing in Vijayanagar City. This perhaps shows that although the capital of the Empire was removed to Penugonda, people were still living in Vijayanagar leading a normal life. He owned a garden in Tirupati and there was a mantapam in that garden. He is therefore likely to have been a native of Tirupati residing in Vijayanagar, probably as one of the Officers under Srirangaiyā. His endowment was in the nature of excavating an irrigation channel in the (tiruvīdayāttam) Temple village of Pādī in Ulmandalam. It was expected that this improvement would yield 85

putties of paddy valued at 34 Rekhai Pon at the rate of 4 panam per pntti of paddy His ubhayams consisted of festivals on the Hunting festival day and on the day of his own birth star (āṭṭai naksha tram) both being celebrated in Govindaraja's temple This inscription affords interesting information about the prices of several kinds of grains and provisions as well as of cooked and baked food offerings current at the time

All the inscriptions from 3 to 8 of Vol VI mention Srīrangadēva Maharāyar as the Emperor Their dates lie between January 1583 and 158 A.D (Saka 1510) The next inscription (No 9) which is dated 14th July 1592 mentions Sri Vīra Venkaṭapatidēva Maharayar as the ruler of the Kingdom The date on which Srīrangaraya's reign came to an end and Venkatapatidevaraya's reign commenced cannot be definitely stated In regard to the end of the rule of Sri Venkatapatiraya also there is some uncertainty Dr Ayyangar states that it ended in 1614 whereas inscription No 19 shows that it extended even to 1616 A.D

There really is no need for us to know for certain the names of the rulers in whose time the inscriptions in Vol VI were made All that we have to note is that the Tuluva dynasty came to an end with Sadāsivaraya Maharāya When it actually ended is not definitely known We are also not certain whether Tirumalarāya actually reigned as Emperor Inscription No 1 in Vol VI

ARAVIDU KINGS

mentions his name as Tirumaladēva Mahārajulungāru and Tirumalarājayya. He is not called Tirumalarāya Mahārāyar in any inscription. It is likely that after the calamities that had happened to the empire he was not inclined formally to crown himself as the Emperor and assume all the *prāsasti*. But it is significant that the Aravidu family assumed the Government of the Empire as the undisputed successors of the Tuluva family even though the Tuluvas belonged originally to the Kannada country and the Aravidu's hailed from the Telugu country since known as Rāyalaseema. We do not also find any sign of the Kannada language in any of the inscriptions of this period.

As ministers of Sadāsivarāya Mahārāya, Aravīti Aliya Ramarāja and Tirumalarāja made munificent endowments to the temple. But after ascending the throne of the decadent Empire, not a single endowment was made by any member of the Aravidu dynasty. The endowments made after 1574 A.D. were made by some of the officers serving under them, by the Āchāryapurushas and Jiyars attached to the temple or by well-to-do devotees. This dynasty ruled for nearly a century from 1575 to 1665 A.D. It is stated that Venkatapatnāya got himself crowned in Tirumalai, that he made Chandragiri his capital and that he was frequently visiting the Tirumalai Temple. Certain Vijayanagar coins bearing the inscription 'Sri Venka-tēsvarāya Namāh' are referred to as evidence

1 Pages 321, 322 of Dr S K Ayyangar's History (Vol. II)

of his close association with Tirumalai. But none of the Aravidu Emperors made any endowments.

Another feature worth noting is that out of 192 inscriptions clubbed together in Vol VI, it is only in the case of 32 inscriptions that a date can be assigned with certainty and only eight of these inscriptions find a place on the walls of the Tirumalai Temple, the last one belonging to the year 1616 A.D. All the others are found on the walls of Sri Govindarājasvāmi Temple in Tirupati or on the Alipiri structures at the foot of the hill ascent. *THE CENTRE OF INTEREST THEREFORE SEEMS TO HAVE SHIFTED TO TIRUPATI AFTER 1616 A.D.* This might have been due to the want of adequate feeding arrangements in Tirumalai perhaps on account of the failure of the annual income from the lands endowed to the temple caused by the ruined or neglected condition of the irrigation channels. We however find that Ramarājaya's avasaram (sandhi offering) of 200 taligai was being offered in Tirumalai in 1616 (page 116 Vol VI) and that from out of the Sthanattar's share of this the Srivaishnava Ramanujakūṭam was allotted 12 taligais from that date. We also find from Narayana dasari's endowment that in 1606 A.D. (page 96 Vol VI) the Ramanujakūṭam in Tirupati was providing food to pilgrims at a cost of 50 Rekhai Pon. The only Ramanujakūṭam in Tirupati was the one started by Araviṭi Kondarāja in 1547 A.D. This was the one which provided food for nearly 2000 pilgrims a day. How these

ENGLISH FACTORY RECORDS

pilgrims fared after 1616 A.D. we cannot say for certain. The bulk of the food offerings made during the century following the battle of Tālikōta was made for specific festivals or ubhayams, most of which were in Tirupati. The food offerings would therefore have benefited the natives of Tirupati more than the visiting pilgrims.

After the death of Venkatapatidēvaraya I, say in 1616 A.D., there was no peace in the country for a long time. The observations contained in "the English Factory records" against the dates shown bear out this statement. They were in search of suitable places for establishing factories:—July 20, 1620 (From Batavia to the company) " .. We referred the sending of people to remain in Pulicat until we are better furnished with factors, being unable to spare any from hence until the President's coming. Were it not for future hopes, that factory at Pulicat were not worth the establishing, being at present all in wars with one another. It is in time of peace the place of best cloth and paying in all coromandel coast".

Again about the invitation the English had from the Naick who owned Amagaon (Dugirāja patam) to seat themselves within his territory, they stated that when they visited him on January 26, 1626 he was conducting a siege of some fort twenty miles away. They presented him a cannon and got the concession; but at the same time they felt doubtful about the Naick continuing to hold his possessions. They observed that "the Naick stood

on doubtful terms whether he shall keep his country or he is a usurper and that the true king doth daily take from him and his fellow confederates. A letter dated Aug 29 1629 contains the Statement that the great king of the jentues (Chandragiri rajah) reduced all the Naicks to submission save the one in whose territory Amagaon was situated and they feared that the latter would not long be able to hold out.

On January 23, 1633—Christopher Read wrote Masulipatam and Amagaon are sorely oppressed with famine the living eating up the dead and man durst scarcely travel in the country for fear they should be killed and eaten. The Golkonda army subsequently overran the whole country and Amagaon itself was occupied by a neighbour. *There was confusion everywhere when Venkata pathy I died in 1642*. There was always the trouble from Golkonda particularly from about 1638 A.D. This was made worse by civil wars of succession. Rama IV Venkata II and Sriranga II had all to fight for the throne in succession. The agricultural economy of the country would have been much upset by these wars. There was also a great famine about 1630 A.D. These circumstances possibly account for the absence of inscriptions (particularly in Tirumalai) showing any endowments made. Dr S. K. Ayyangar says (page 373 History of Tirupati Vol II) the wealth of Mir Jinnla was enormous because of the vast plunder that he got from the South Indian temples that he conquered while among the temples which came within the purview

of his conquests, the temple at Tirupati would be one of the most prominent one and surely it must have been one of the richest Temples like Kālahasti, Conjivaram and a number of others that could be mentioned certainly do come within the sphere of his activity. This is about all that we could hear of regarding Tirupati in these campaigns in addition to the fact that Sriranga made three efforts on separate occasions to recover Tirupati. He succeeded in recovering it in 1656 and perhaps lost it again so that it remained under Golkonda's possession afterwards". Mr. Ayyangar does not however specify the three occasions referred to above. But it was pointed out already (while reviewing the inscriptions shown in Vol V of the T T Devasthanam inscription No 43) that on Jyeshtha Bahu'la 10 in the cyclic year Visvāvasu Srīman Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Srī Virapratāpa Srī Vira Srīrangaraja Maharaja visited the Tirumalai Temple. "శ్రీ తిరువంగళ నాథ దేవుని శ్రీమద్రాజాధి రాజ రాజ పర మేశ్వర శ్రీవీర... ..శ్రీ రంగరాజ సదాసేవ" and that the Visvāvasu year can be only 1665 A.D when one Srirangaraya was the Emperor. Unless the Tirumalai Temple was within his Empire, he would not have paid a visit to it. But it is curious that the inscription is on a separate slab in Tirumalai and not on the walls, and that no mention is made of his attempts to reconquer Tirupati from the Muslims. Nor did he make any thanksgiving offering to the Deity.

There is mention of a Koyil Kelvi Van Sathakōpan Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar கோயில்கேவியன்-வாஸதாஹோபன் அலகியா மனவலா ரமணஜா ஜியர் in Inscription No 12 dated 19th April 1596 A.D. relating to an endowment made by Silamb'daiyār setṭi, one of the merchants of Ramāpuram. This Van Sathakōpa Ramanuja Jiyar seems to have been the Jiyar of the Ahobila Mutt about the same period. This matham being a Valagalai matham its Jiyar must have been a Vadagalai. In the Ahobila matham there used to be three Jiyars, ranking according to seniority. This Van Sathakōpa Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar was presumably the Vadagalai Jiyar and Koyil Kelvi also though not Periya Koyil Kelvi. Even now there is invariably a Vadagalai Ekāṅgi attached to the Periya Jiyar in Tirupati. The Devasthanam Epigraphist translates the expression கோயில்கேவியன்-வாஸதாஹோபன் அலகியா மனவலா ரமணஜா ஜியர் as 'Koyil Kelvi Sathakōpan and Koyil Kelvi Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar', as if the Tamil words indicated two different persons. He completely ignores the prefix van to Sathakōpa. The translation is obviously incorrect. There was friendly relationship between the Vadagalai and the Tengalai Jiyars in those days. For instance in Vol VI 10 dated 16-1-1594 it is stated in the endowment by Koyil Kelvi Annan Ramanuja Jiyar that the Tirumanjanam and the food offerings to Śrī Govindaraja were made while seated in the Van Sathakōpan matham which is a Vadagalai matham. Thereafter we do not find

Ramanuja Jiyar as making endowment or receiving any prasadam as donee. The name occurs again No 18 dated 4-11-1614 to describe a mantapam as one constructed in the name of Periya Timmappan through the agency of Tirumalai Turupati Periya Koyil Kelvi, Annan Ramanuja Jiyar. The use of this expression for describing a place and a mantapam would not by itself mean that he was alive in 1614. It may be that the Van Sathakopan Jiyar was his junior in 1594 and that in 1596 he became Koyil Kelvi Jiyar. We note from these inscriptions that there was harmonious relationship between the Tengalais and Vadagalais in those days.

This Van Sathakopa Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja Jiyar¹ is probably the same as the Van Sathagopa Jiyar who in 1584-1585 was instrumental in liberating the Ahobilam temples from the hands of the rabid Saivites known as Hundais and the Muslim Ibrahim Qutab Shah of Golkonda. The temples were captured by the Muslims with the assistance of the Hundais in 1578. The village was pillage and the temple structures mutilated, a fact to which the carved figures in the unfinished Kalyāna mantapam bear testimony. Upon this the Srivai-

1 One of the predecessors of this Jiyar, Vedānta Sathakōpa jiyar, was the recognised recipient (sishtyaparamparai) of betel leaves and nuts which represented the donor's share of his sishtya, name not given in the inscription (V 65) nor the date. The T T D Epigraphist presumes, in the foot note furnished by him to the inscription, that the sishtya was Nandyala Narapparaja (V 122) who made his endowment in 1549 A.D. One Parankusa jiyar is said to have been his successor and predecessor to Van Sathakopa Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja jiyar.

shnavas deserted the place. And although Varṇa Sathakopa Jiyar persuaded Srīrangaraja to reconquer the place under the generalship of Kondarāju Venkatarāju and plant a Vijaya Sthambham in the Temple, the village soon became depopulated. Van Satakopayati himself might have left for the branch matham (rather the original home) in Tirumalai some time after 1538. Here in consideration of the great service he had done for the cause of Srīvaishnavism, he might have been appointed as Koyil Kelvi Jiyar in succession to Annan Ramanuja Jiyar who died sometime about 1594 A.D. At any rate we find that he was the Jiyar in Tirumalai, when Venkatapatidēvarāya, the spiritual disciple of Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumāra Tatachariar (a Vadagalai), was the ruling Emperor. This is a matter of some importance to the two sects of Srī Vaishnavas in Southern India.

*ETTUR TIRUMALAI KUMĀRA TĀTA CHARĪAR*¹ mentioned above was a prominent person among the Srīvaishnavas of the day. He is known to have made several endowments in Kanchipuram and his descendants have always been holding the key position in the temple of Srī Varadarajaswami there. He is stated to have had the Vimanam of Srī Venkatesvara's temple regilded. But there is no inscription in Tirumalai or Tirupati which mentions so important an event.

¹ The correct genealogy of Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumāra Tatachariar is given as foot in connection with Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalaishāmbi Srīnivasayyengar in Sada ivaraya's period Chap. XX pp. 760, 761.

KUMARA TATACHARIAR'S ENDOWMENT

There is however an inscription which enumerates the villages endowed by him from the income whereof several festivals and services were arranged to be celebrated every year. This endowment (VI. 5: 25-9-1583) was made when Sriman Mahārajādhirāja Rājapālamōsvara Śrī Virapiatapa Śrī Vīra Śrī-rangarāyadōva Mahārāyar was ruling the kingdom and perhaps before he became the acharya or guru of Śrī Vīra Venkatapatidōva Maharaya, the successor of Śrī Rangarāyadeva Mahārāyar. It is possible that he was the guru of Venkatapati even before he became the Emperor and that the ritualistic portion of this coronation was performed by him as is generally believed. He did not make any endowments during the period when his sishya was the Emperor. There is only the legend that he did the regilding of the Vimanams. But four entire villages were endowed by him (in 1583), just fifteen years after the battle of Talikota. The expected annual income from these villages was 720 Rēkhar Pon¹

1	1	Ayyambakkam in Pālavettu Sirmam near Terku magamai division	income	300 R P
	2	Pisāttur in the same Sirmam	"	210 "
	3	Pulivāyi in the same Sirmam	"	30 "
	4	Mullai vāyi in Tulai parivayi	"	150 "

These villages were endowed for the following purposes —

(a) two Pongal taligais to be offered daily to Śrī Venkatesvara at the time of the Dadhyodana Sandhi after Tiru nanjanam costing 146 R P

(b) the celebration of a Tirukkodittirunāl yearly in the month of Arpaśi. Among the vahanams to be used during this festival specific mention is made of Nanji (Hamsa), Garuda and Anai (elephant) vahanams. The expenditure on this festival including

Et̥tur Tirumalai Kumara Tatachariar ayyan is described as the grandson of Tolappachariar and the son of Ayyavayyanganar of the Sathamarshana gotra Apasthamba Sutra and Yajus sakha. But he is not described as an acharyapurusha. This shows that his ancestors had separated themselves from the main family of Tirumalainambi long before and had lost the right to be called acharya purushas of the Tirumalai Temple. But the branch family has been allowed to retain the right of reading the Kalika purana in Tirumalai while the main family does it in Tirupati. This will however be dealt with at greater length when we come to the Acharyapurushas of this temple.

We see that in this period except for the endowment made by Kumara Tatachariar the various food offerings on all the 11 days amounted to 410 R.P. and 8½ panams.

(c) the flower crown festival (Tirumugakkattu) for 11 R.P. and 8½ panams.

(d) the provision of a special Palogukkappo mural for the Moḷa Beram on the Friday occurring during the Tirukkoditirunāl. The manner in which this is performed has already been described in the chapter on daily worship. This cost 16 R.P. and 1½ panam.

(e) a Uḷadai festival for Malayappan and Sri Krishna at a cost of 6 R.P. and 7 panams;

(f) the most significant item is however the provision made for the Kalika 10 anam uhhayam in Tirumalai at a cost of 6 R.P. and 7½ panams. This consists in the reading of the Kalika posanam (already described) on the early morning of Kalika or Uttara dvadasi day. The right of reading the posanam on this day is a right which has been since then and is still being exercised by the Kanchipuram Tatachar family. Distribution of Iyalpaḍi offerings at Sri Ramaouja's shrine to those who recite the Prabandhams during the Brahmotsavam.

others were all of minor importance. But they show that the irrigation sources stood in need of repairs and that the Sthanattar were prepared to celebrate ubhayams in exchange for repair work done to these irrigation sources. No cash endowments were made during the period of Sriranganayai i.e., (till 1588 A.D.).

Venkatapatidevaraya Maharayar I

We next pass on to the period of *Venkata I*. The inscriptions of this period are those numbered from 9 to 19 (July 1592 to Nov. 1616). There are only three endowments showing grant of villages for the performance of ubhayams. In two cases services alone are mentioned, but not the endowment. In other cases, irrigation channels are stated to have been excavated. Nine such channels are mentioned, all being in temple villages. There was no endowment in cash.

A small endowment (VI 17; 8-11-1613) which consisted of the re-excavation of a spring channel in Pūṇḍi village was incised on stone in the presence of Venkatapatideva Maharayar. The irrigation channel was called Nāṭṭu Kālvāy in Pūṇḍi village and it entitled the donor for offering one *tiupponakam* daily in the Tirumalai temple (Inscription No. VI 17. 8-11-1613). The presence of the Emperor himself on that day probably made the Sthanattar mention that fact. It is also for that very reason that it is specially noticed here. It is generally believed that Venkatapatiraya having removed

his capital to Chandragiri, was frequently visiting the temple and that he was so great a devotee of Sri Venkatēsa that he even issued coins bearing the figure of Sri Venkatesa with the words

Sri Venkatesaya Namah inscribed. But in view of the fact that he made no endowments to the Temple it is doubtful whether the belief is well founded. We have seen that money was scarce in those days and that the restoration of irrigation channels was the only manner in which the temple services could be kept going. But Kānukās or voluntary gifts of money, coins of various kinds, jewels, etc put into the Koppara (or hundi) of the temple would have continued to be made by the pilgrims for this was a long established practice. It is not unlikely that the Emperor was reduced to the plight of making use of all the surplus income of the temple for maintaining an army in defence of the Empire. He and his spiritual mentor Kumāra Tatāchariār would have considered such a diversion of temple funds as having Sri Venkatēsvara's sanction. The coin might therefore have been issued in the name of Sri Venkatesvara. This is a possible explanation of the coins bearing the inscription 'Sri Venkatesaya Namah'.

It is worth noting that during this period there were three instances of endowment of whole village. The first of these (VI 9 14-7-1592) was made by one Periya Timmappa Nāyakkar residing in Vijayanagaram in 1592 A.D. The village endowed by him was known as Agaram Pūdamalli

PERIYA TIMMAPPA NAYAKKAR'S ENDOWMENTS

situated in Pālaivam Sūmai of Terku Magamai (Southern Province) yielding an annual income of 320 Rekhai Pon. All the ubhayams of this endowment were in the temples of Sri Govindarajaswami and Sri Ramanuja in Tirupati. The second endowment (VI 10; 16-1-1594) was that of the village of Timmānāyakapuram situated in Kondvidu sūmai of the Vadaḍaku Magamai (Northern province) yielding an annual income of 200 Rekhai Pon. It was made by Kōyil Kēlvī Annan Ramanuja Jiyar in 1594. Some of the ubhayadars of this endowment were in Tirumalai and some in Tirupati. The third instance was the endowment (VI 15, 2-3-1607) by one Nārāyana Dāsari Nāyakkar of Timmāpuram village situated in Chandragiri Rajyam (Ulmandalam) and yielding an annual income 600 Rekhai Pon. All the ubhayams of this endowment were in Tirupati for Sri Govindarajaswami and for Sri Raghunathaswami installed by him on a mantapam on the banks of the Govinda-pushkarini.

There is however a defect or flaw in the recording of the inscription relating to the last endowment. The preamble states that the date of record was "Parābhava Samvatsara mina month, aparapaksha panchami, makha-nakshatram, Saka 1528, when Vira Venkatapatideva Maharayar was rulling". The week-day is missing. Neither the aparapaksha nor the purvapaksha panchami of that month in that year was concurrent with makha nakshatram. There is an error of 6 nakshatras. Aparapaksha panchami is concurrent with Visakha

nakshatra. So large an error can be explained only by assuming that the inscription was made a long time after the grant. It may also be that the grant itself is spurious.

The endowment of villages situated in the Northern, the Central and the Southern provinces may be taken as evidence of the existence of a stable government in the country and the absence of the turmoils of war. The provision made in the endowments for the celebration of ubhayams in the temples of the Alvars and of Sri Ramanuja indicates the influence which Venkatapatidevaraya as a Srivaishnava, was exercising over his officers.

Endowments in the shape of grants of whole villages cease with the cyclic year Parābhava Saka 1523 (1606-1607). Thereafter the endowment is invariably made in the shape of the excavation of old spring channels or the excavation of new ones for the irrigation of the lands in the tiruvilaiyāṭṭam villages all of which are situated in Ulmandalam, near to Tirumalai and Tirupati. Between the years 1496 (Saka 1518) Durmukhi, and 1616 (Saka 1538) Nala ten irrigation channels were re-excavated in this manner by six donors. Ellambalaiyār Seṭṭi of Rāmapuram (VI 12 19-4-1596) renovated the disused channel called Rayanōṛi Kalvāy in Rāmāpuram, so as to increase the yield annually by 140 Rekhai Pon. Bokkasam Narasayyan of Vijayanagarai (VI 13 31-3-1606) improved an irrigation channel so as to make the lands watered by it yield annually 27 Rekhai Pon more than the former

RENOVATION OF OLD IRRIGATION CHANNELS

yield Hanumayyar Anṇangar, commander of the Vijayanagar forces, stationed at Mālyavantam Hills, Vijayanagaram, (VI. 14; 28-11-1606) re-excavated three irrigation channels in Kallaru and Nariyaru river limits and also granted $\frac{3}{4}$ share of a new village founded by him called Anṇangār-pālayam the annual income derived out of the endowment being 365 Rekha Pon. Singayanayakan re-excavated (VI. 17; 8-11-1613) the Nāttukkālvāy in Pūndi village and also gave 2 shares of Pallam lands and in return for it obtained the right to offer 1 tirupponakam daily to Sri Venkatesa Nōttakkāra Venkaṭayyan of Dānnāyaka Achyutapuram village founded by Venkatapatirayadēva Mahārayar (VI. 18; 4-11-1614), re-excavated two irrigation channels in 1614, one in Nāyakan Kālvāy village in Kuḍavūr nādu which gave an increased yield of 400 puttis of paddy, the price of which was 4 panam per putty. Lastly Sriman Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Chinna Timma-īājayyan through his agent Ghaṭṭu Tiruvēnkata Ayyangar of Tirunārāyanapuram (VI 19; 4-11-1616) excavated two irrigation channels, one in the temple village of Iḷamaṇḍaiyam and the other in a village, the name of which is missing in the inscription. The lands irrigated by the channels yielded paddy valued at 281 Rekha Pon and 6 panams over and above what they were previously yielding.

In all the above cases, the excavation of channels in the villages of ulmaṇḍalam would have been done only at the request or the suggestion of the Sthanattar. The donors were men of influence, who

could muster local labour and execute the repairs. This form of endowment shows to some extent the pitiable economic condition into which the country was drifting after 1606 A.D.

Another reason for making endowments of this kind might have been the impossibility of realising income from lands situated far away from Tirupati owing to the disturbed state of these regions. For aught we know the Sthanattar and the Tiruppani Bhandarattar had to supervise the management of more than 200 villages situated in different nāḍus, sirnaḥ and magamaḥ of the Vijayanagar Empire. It does not however appear that any serious difficulty was felt in the management of landed estates even so late as 1616 A.D. For instance Mahamandalesvara Chinna Thimmayyan's endowment states that *Ramarajayyan's avasaram of 200 taligais every day was regularly functioning in November 1616 A.D.* It may be remembered that two out of the four villages granted for the purpose Singala bāvi and Vaḷākōlil were situated in Raichur and Mudgal sirmai which were then distracted by war and that the other two villages Yaralaobchori and Mākālipaṭṭu were situated in Periyapākkam sirmai (probably in Terku magamai). *We also learn (VI 9) that by the year 1616 A.D. the number of annual Brahmōtsavamḥ for Sri Govindarajasvami had risen from three to four, and that the other festivals were also being celebrated as usual. Eleven Brahmotsavamḥ were likewise being celebrated in Tirumalai every year. Ubhayams were plentiful, many of*

LAKKAPPA NAYAKKAR'S ENDOWMENTS

them being those which were instituted after 1580 A.D. The Ramanujakūṭams in Tirumalai and in Tirupati were functioning. The irrigation sources and channels alone appear to have been much neglected, either on account of the disturbances or an account of the continuous failure of rains.

There are two points worth noticing from these inscriptions

Lakkappa Nayakkar granted three fourths share of his new village called Annangārpalayam and reserved¹ the remaining one-fourth share for the maintenance of his own men. A very large part of the prasādanis was also ordered to be distributed free to the pilgrims in front of Śrī Ramanuja's shrine in Tirumalai to the detriment no doubt, of the Sthanattai's māmūl rights

The second point to note is that the re-excavation of the spring channels did not always add, in any marked way, to the original yield of the lands. The increase in yield was generally expected to be something more than the old. To that extent the donor was entitled to making food offerings in his own name. But in several cases it was only a portion of the offering of the old endowment that

1 The Tamil expression used for this reservation is “தகவள வகையாருக்கு நிறுத்திக்கொண்ட”. The Devasthanam Epigraphist translates this as reserving one-fourth share of the land and the rights of the channel ‘for the purpose of maintaining your officers and army’. The Tamil expression can hardly mean all this. Under the Vijayanagar Empire, so far as we know, no private army was maintained by any of the commanders,

was transferred to the name of the new donor. This is found clearly stated in Sri Chinna Timmarajayyan's endowment. Twelve taligais out of the two hundred taligais of Ramarajayyan's old endowment was transferred to the credit of the new donor (Chinna Timmarajayyan) in consideration of the re-excavation of the channel, done by him.¹ These twelve taligais were sent to the Ramanujakutam. But the Sthanattar took out of this, 2½ taligais as their share leaving only 9½ taligais with the necessary adjuncts of Kuttu, kari, ponkkari curds etc. for distribution to the desantris.

Sri Vira Rama Ravu deva Maharaya (Rama IV).

We next pass on to the period of Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Vira Rama Ravu deva Maharayar. Although it is the general belief that Venkatapatidēva Mahārāyar I died in 1614, we found from inscription No. 18 that he must have been alive on 4-11-1616. It has also been generally accepted that he was succeeded by Ranga III, son of his elder brother Rama III² whom he had actually nominated as his successor and that the latter shortly after he ascended the throne was murdered along with all his adherents by the Gobbūrī Chief Jaggarāya the brother of one of the queens of Venkatapati

1 "திருமலைப் திருவேங்கடமுண்டான ஞானபதி அமுத செயற்குமம் பிரகாசத்தினே ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரதத்துக்கு உரும ஆகார தத்து காரணியாகி பிறபமாகச்சென்று திருமலைப் ராமாணந் கடத்தின ஸ்ரீகை ஸ்ரீகை அமுத செயற்குமப்பண்ண

2. Rama III was one of Tirumalaraya's sons

The only one who escaped is stated to have been surreptitiously removed by a washerman by concealing him among soiled clothes and subsequently crowned in Kumbakonam as Rama IV. Historians presume that Ranga III was murdered some time in 1614 after Venkatapati's death and that after a civil war of succession, Rama IV was crowned as Emperor in 1616. But according to our inscription Venkatapati was alive till November 1616. His death, the succession of Ranga III, and the massacre must therefore have taken place after 1616 and the ultimate coronation of Rama IV must have taken place in 1618 A.D.

There is only one inscription (VI. 20; 25-5-1627) of the reign of Rama IV, or Srīman Mahārājadhirāja Rājaparamēswara Srī Vira Pratāpa Srī Virā Rāmārāvu dēva Mahārāya as he was styled. He is believed to have been the Emperor till 1632 A.D when he was succeeded by Kumāra Venkatapativāya, or Venkata II. We however find that Venkata II was the reigning monarch on 20-9-1631. Some correction therefore seems to be necessary in the generally accepted dates of accession of these Emperors

The donor of the endowment (VI. 21) mentioned above was one Nōttakkara Narāyanan, son of Venkatayyan and grandson of Konappayyan all of whom were attached to the Tirumalai Temple as Nottakkarar (apprisers). He executed repairs to two irrigation channels in Kuḍavūr naḍu, so as to make the land irrigated by them yield an additional

produce of paddy valued at 440 Rakhai Pon a year. The price of paddy was calculated at the rate of 6 panam per putty. According to the previous inscriptions the price was only 4 panams per putty (Vide VI 4-11-1614). There was thus a fifty per cent rise in the price of paddy owing perhaps to famine conditions. The festivals for which the amount was to be used were all celebrated in Tirumalai only. There were no new festivals but only the proper performance of the old ones such as Vasanta navami ubhayams during Brahmotsavam and festival ubhayams on all the 53 Fridays and 53 Sundays. A perusal of the long list of food offerings and processions contained in the inscription shows that there was no lowering of the standard in the celebration of festivals in spite of the rise in prices.

' It was during the reign of Rama IV that inscriptions describing the numerous gifts and charities made by Maṭṭa Kumara Anantārāja son of Tiruvengalanātha and Chennamma were made in Tinpatī. He belonged to the Dēva Chōla family of the solar race and was perhaps related to Krishnā¹ dēvarāja one of whose sons-in-law was one Maṭṭa Varadarāja.

Maṭṭa Ananteraṭṭa's gifts and charities were made in 1628 A D and are described in two inscriptions. Of these Inscription VI No. 25 is on the east

I l u ō g e r a i u ſ u n d u ō g e r I appam. n i t r a s a m t ē t a l a i m a n ḡ
h a r e m v a l a i k u p u k k n e j j n n ḡ a i m a n i p p a r n p p u u n d I i ḡ ḡ a i d ḡ a i
t i n p p a n y ā r a m p o r i , d a d h y ḡ ḡ n a n i .

wall of the Pādāla (Sripāda) mantapam in Telugu script and No. 26 is on the west wall of the mantapam in grantha script, the language being a mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit. The Sripāda mantapam itself was constructed by him at the foot of the Tirumalai Hill. The gifts and charities mentioned in the inscriptions are numerous and should have cost several lakhs of varāhaṇa. The most noteworthy point about them is that not even a single item of endowment was left to the management of the Sthanattar of the Tirumalai, Tirupati temples. The inscriptions also enumerate gifts and charities to be administered in religious centres other than Tirupati and Tirumalai. One aspect of these endowments deserves our attention. They were made at a period of history of the Vijayanagar Empire when there were succession disputes and massacres in the royal family. He does not seem to have been affected by them. The country which he ruled lay as stated in the inscription between Ahobilam and the Tirumalai Hills. It lay to the north and west of the Velugōti Yāchamanāyak's territory and perhaps to the south and east of the Gobbūri chief's territory. It cannot be considered to have been at any time so rich a tract of country as to spare the enormous amount of money which Anantaraya was able to spend on charities. The inscription says that he fought a number of battles and overcame his enemies at the places mentioned in the inscription—Pālagiri, Alimēla, Pīlēru, Chapalli, Vēnupalli, Koṭṭikala, Dalakāḍa, Gundlūru,

Muvvūru, Kumālla kālṡāy It is not stated whether these battles formed a part of the civil war in connection with the succession dispute. Historians also state that a certain Maṭṭarāja proved treacherous to Śrī Rāṅgarāja Mahārāja in 1578 A.D., when Ahōbīlam was captured and looted by the Muslims. All that we know for certain is, that he had the wealth and that he spent it in gifts and charities lavishly.

There is a story connected with the construction of the big gopuram in Govindarāja Sānnidhi Street in Tirupati, built by him. It is stated that the architect a man belonging to the southern country, was ordered to accompany the bandies which were loaded with bags of coins at Matla and despatched to Tirupati. The bags formed the first batch. To test the financial capacity and the earnestness of Anantarāja, the architect cut some holes in the bags so that when the bandies reached Tirupati. It was found that the bags were not full and that there was leakage along the route. Anantarāja was however not perturbed by this loss. He sent word that whatever money was needed would be supplied promptly and that no delay should occur in the execution of the work on that account. Upon this the architect assured his patron that he might regard the work as good as executed. The story would seem to show that the Rajah was not only very rich but that he was also generous. Various structures are enumerated in the inscription as having been executed by him. At that time of

famine these works? would have afforded great relief to the poor. The Rajah's gifts and charities were distributed among both Vaishnavite and Saivite temples. They are mostly in the region, now called the Cuddapah district—at Udayagiri, Nandalūr, Vontimittā, Siddhavatti, Rāyachōṭ, Pushpagiri, Anantarājampet and Cuddapah. The gopurams and prakaram walls of most of these temples were constructed by him. In some of these temples he made provision for the daily worship also. In Tiruvallur (Chingleput Dt.) he constructed the Vasanta mantapam. To Kālahastisvara he presented a golden peacock and a mōhana vimanam. To Śrī Venkatesvara he presented three vāhanams (golden horse, elephant and Sarva Bhūpāla Vahanams), he presented a Ratnādhyā makuṭa (gemset crown). He also constructed a flight of stone steps to Tirumalai, the agra gōpuram and a Unnata Kōli mantapam. His charity consisted also in establishing free feeding houses for pilgrims in as many as twelve places, most of which lay in the Cuddapah district besides the two in Tirupati, one at Alvar Tirtham and the other on Sēshachala Kuruva on the Hill.

For the proper supervision of his charities, he employed his own agent Konḍayya. He should have commenced his numerous works long before 1628 A.D. They would have normally taken about 10 years to execute. Tirupati did not form part of his own territory, but lay just outside it. It formed a part, and the most important part of the Vijayanagar Empire. Rama IV commenced his reign in

1618 But Matla Kumara Anantaraja makes no mention of the Emperor's name in the inscription of his endowments. He seems to have acted independently of even the Sthanattar of the temple.

It is believed that Rama IV was not certain that he would rule long and that therefore he nominated in 1622 two persons as his successors. One of these was Peda Venkata II son of Ranga IV and grandson of Aliya Rāmarāja the other was Sriranga a nephew of Peda Venkata II. It is not certain in what year Rama IV died. It cannot be 1632 as is generally believed. Contemporary records of the English Factories in India and the Dutch go to show that after the death of Rama IV there were succession disputes between Peda Venkata II and his nephew Sriranga in or about August 1631. These disputes or civil wars were rather between the adherents of the two claimants than between the uncle and the nephew, Damarla Venkatappa, the brother in law of Peda Venkata espousing the cause of Venkata and the northern chiefs espousing the cause of Sriranga. In an inscription dated 29-9-1631 (VI 21) Kumara Venkatapatideva Maharayar (Peda Venkata II) is named with the usual prasasti of the emperor and as being the ruler on that day. Peda Venkata II was perhaps actually crowned as the Emperor in 1632, as is generally believed. He continued to rule till 1642 A.D. Although Sriranga succeeded him as Emperor only in 1642 he seems to have from the commencement of 1632 considered himself to be the

emperor. For we find that in inscription No. 23 dated 15-6-1638, Sriranga is mentioned as being the ruler¹ and his name is associated with the Emperor's prasasti. The possible explanation for these inconsistent statements by the Sthanattar would be that so far as they were concerned, both had equal claims and that they had no business to take sides.

For our purposes it may be taken that Kumāra Venkatapati (Venkata II) ruled from about september 1631 to October 1642. Sri rangaraya succeeded him as Emperor although the Damarla Nāyak and some of the other Nāyaks were opposed to Sriranga. The Golkonda King was at this time invading the territories of Sriranga. The English were also fortifying the factory which they built in Madras, having obtained a grant from Damarla Muddu Venkatappa on 22 august 1639 and confirmed by Venkata II subsequently on a gold plated cowle deed which was lost in the sea in 1693. A fresh grant was also made in Nov 1645 corresponding to the month Karthikai and in the dark fortnight of the cyclic year Parthiva. True copies of these documents as given the English Factory records and are given as Appendix.

There are three inscriptions relating to the period of the reign of Peda Venkata II, or Srīman Maharajadhiraja Raja paramesvara Sri Vira Pratapa

1 " . . . :ஸ்ரீரங்க ஜெமீனார்ஜாதிநாஜ ராஜவருமெய்யார்
ஸ்ரீவீரபுத்தாவ ஸ்ரீவீர ஸ்ரீரங்கதேவ ஜெமீனார்யா வுதிவீ
ராஜஜிஷ பண்ணி அருளாசினற ஸகாபதம்"

Sri Vira Venkaṭapati-rāya dēva Maḥarāya was so styled. The first is VI. 21 dated 29-9-1631 and describes an endowment made by one Rāmachān drāyyan who excavated an irrigation channel in the temple village of Vādirājapuram and thereby increased the annual yield from the irrigated lands. Out of the additional income a number of ubhayams were arranged to be celebrated in Tirumalai and Tirupati. We learn from the inscription that the maṭham of the Ilan Kōyil kēlvī Jiyar, in Tirupati was situated in the street south of the south sreni of the Govindaraja Sannidhi street. It is now in the south sreni of the Sannidhi street itself and west of the big gopuram. The second inscription VI. 22 dated 2-1-1636 gives details of an endowment by Prativādi Bhayankaram Appangaracharyar one of the Achārya Puruṣas of the temple. He lived in the Ayyangār tiruvidhi, also called Bhāshyakār Agrahāram and now known as Govindaraja North Mada Street. A spring channel in the temple village of Avilāli was renovated by him. He also made a contribution of 25 Rekhal Pon on the occasion of the installation of Lakshminarayanapperumāl and Periya Ālvār in a temple built by him in the South Mada Street. From the increased yield ubhayams were arranged to be celebrated. All these ubhayams had a definite Sri Vaiṣṇava complex about them. In this inscription there are three points of interest to us. (1) the number of Nirvāhams of the Sthanattar which was 12 till 1631 A.D. was reduced to 4. There was no share in the nirvā

ham for the Sthanattar But there was one for Thupatīyār, one for Nambimar, one for Periya Koyil Kelvi Jiyar and one for the Sthalakarnam This is a significant change, (2) Nāthamuni temple in Nāthamuni Street in Tirupati is mentioned for the first time (3) We learn that land was being measured with a rod of 32 spans, one such square rod making up one kuḷi of land

The third inscription is VI 23 dated 15-6-1638. Although the Emperor's name is given in this inscription as Srīrangadēva Maharaya with the usual prasasti we know that Venkatapatidēva was the real Emperor at the time. The name of the donor is missing, but we learn that he was a brahmin living in Kundanāla village, in Uravakonda Sirmāi From these details, we see that his village lay in the territory which was under the governorship of Srīrangarāja. He therefore seems to have regarded him as the Emperor. He excavated two irrigation channels in two temple villages. One of these villages was called Agaram Maṇiyakkōṇ paṭṭu The name of the other village is missing in the inscription. He was a man of some status and owned a garden with a mantapam in it in Tirumalai. *The main point of interest in this inscription is the information that it furnishes about the re-arrangement of the nirvahams of the Sthanattar.* Their composition according to the earlier inscriptions was Tirupatiyar 4, Sabhaiyar 3; Nambimar 1; Jiyars 2; Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar 2; total 12 *We learn from this that the new Sthanattar was composed*

of 6 persons and that the Numbimars Jajars Tirupatīyar Sabhaiyar and the Tiruninra-ur Udayars did not form members of that body We also notice that the Tirupatīyars were reduced from 4 to 1, the Sabhaiyars from 3 to 1 and the Tiruninra ur Udayars from 2 to 1 This change must have taken place some time between 1638 and 1638 A.D

Sriman Maharajadhiraja Raja Paramesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Rangaraya deva Maharayar or Ranga VI

Sri Rangarāya dēva Mahārāya ascended the throne in October 1642 and probably reigned till 1665 He was previously re from about 1632, the Governor of the province of Chandraḡiri which included all the districts lying to the north of that place The ascendancy of Damarla Venkatappa brother in law of Venkatapati deva and the grand vizier of the Empire, and the ill feeling subsisting between Venkatappa and Yāchama Nāyakka, who was the supporter of Srirangaraya resulted in a permanent estrangement between the Emperor Kumāra Venkatapati and his nephew Srirangaraya. The two factions in the Empire which first made their appearance soon after the death of Venkatapati I in 1616 and during the succession dispute and the consequent civil war seriously affected the Empire. Destruction of life and property and the uncertainty in the country about the security of private property brought about dislocation in trade and agriculture. Foreigners like the Portuguese the Dutch and the English found it risky to make advance payments to local merchants and middle-

PAUCITY OF ENDOWMENTS EXPLAINED

men. Their trade on the east coast in handwoven fabrics was in a flourishing condition till the troubles arose within the empire. Famines caused by failure of rains and the frequent wars made agriculture a risky undertaking. There was a great famine in 1630-31 which lasted some years. Such in short was the state of the country up to the year in which Srirangaraya VI ascended the throne.

This explains why there were so few endowments after 1616 A.D. Between 1616 and 1638 there were only four endowments, but none of these could be compared to those made during the pre-Talikota period. During Srirangaraya's (VI) reign there was not even a single endowment. It could not have been due to any growing lack of faith in temple worship among the people. All through the centuries the class of people who made endowments were Emperors, and their kinsmen, the feudatory chiefs, the rich land owners and merchants from all parts of the Vijayanagar Empire and Telingana country, the residents of Tirupati and its surroundings, religious leaders, acharyas, acharya-purushas and all others connected with the temple including the servants. Every one owed his prosperity to the flourishing condition of agriculture, trade, industries and commerce and safety to pilgrim traffic. There was complete dislocation of these as the result of the unwise and unpatriotic conduct of the members of the ruling family and the Nāyaks who were the provincial governors. Their differences made it easy for the Muslim kings of Golkonda and Bijapur to

extend their conquests to the South and to divide the Hindn Empire between themselves Sriranga rāya was the last victim of this unwise policy of the Hindus

The observations and events chronicled from time to time by the English and the Dutch Factors are the main sources of information relating to this period In 1642, soon after Sriranga became the Emperor Damarla Venkatappa opened negotiations with the Golkonda invaders with the object of making them act against the Emperor The treason was found out and Venkatappa was seized, imprisoned and stripped of most of his territories. His brother Avyappa then raised an army to effect his release When Sriranga found himself harassed on one side by the Muslims and on the other by Ayappa he pardoned and released Venkatappa. The English Factors at Publicat wrote on August 25, 1643 "the country hath been and still is at present in broyles, one Nāgue against another and most against the King which makes all trade at a stand But the king by means of the king of Vizapore (Bijapur) who for 15 lakh of pagothas and 24 elephants, has sent some thousands of horse for his assistance is likely to have the better In 1644 Damarla Venkatappa again proved treacherous and rose in open rebellion. There was also a fresh invasion of the Carnata country by Mir Jumla, the vizier of the Golkonda king well known for his iconoclastic frenzy and plundering propensities¹ Damarla was

1 Vide Introduction. The English Factors records 1640-1650.

DISTRACTED STATE OF THE EMPIRE

then replaced by one Mallaya (a rich merchant and agent of the Dutch). This man in his turn proved treacherous and was likewise dismissed, after he had, without a struggle surrendered in 1646 the strong fortress of Udayagiri to Mir Jumla. "The country was distracted by the war between three of the chief Nayaks on the one side and Sri Ranga on the other. The latter was at the same time being attacked by Bijapur on the west and by the Golkonda forces under Mir Jumla on the east. Eventually Sri Ranga after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a large sum as indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army. The Nayaks sobered by the successors of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance and promised to assist the king in maintaining the independence of the country". These events happened before May 1646 A.D. To the turmoil of war and the troubles on the coast was now added a great famine as a result of which the people gave themselves for slaves to any man that will but feed them. 'The price of food rose to an excessive extent'.

"Before the end of 1646 Mir Jumla conquered all the neighbouring districts and came within two days march of the King's court."

"In October 1647 the English factors bewailed the fact that the company sent them no liquor to drown the stench of the corpses that lay unburied wherever they went and the cries of the dying people". They stated that Mir Jumla had almost

entirely conquered the kingdom and that the English would do well to get their grants made by the fled Jentue king (Sri Ranga) in 1645 (November) confirmed under the great seal of the king of Golkonda, which was made possible by the offer of a brass gun to Mr Mir Jumla.

This was in the middle of October 1647 In January 1652 hostilities broke out between the two Muslim kings of Golkonda and Bijapur and Mir Jumla was surrounded by the Bijapur troops The poor Vijayanagar king was watching his opportunity to break off his miserable yoke The factors wrote that these events so distracted the country that they could not adventure the company's monies abroad The war in the Carnatic was continued strenuously The Bijapur Commander in Chief captured the fortress of Penukonda in March 1653 and wanted Mir Jumla's permission to pass through his territories on his march to Gingee (Chenji) Thereupon Mir Jumla became alarmed at the successes of Bijapur and therefore instigated the Nayaks of Mysore and Ikkeri to take up arms and proceed to Vellore to his help The Bijapur General however succeeded in capturing Vellore after a long siege and concluded a treaty with Srirangarāya by which Chandragiri with the revenues of some districts was left to the Raja This happened about *November 1651* and Tirupati would therefore have nominally remained in the hands of the Raja For in fact it formed a part of the countries conquered by Mir Jumla the Golkonda commander

SRIRANGARAYA'S LAST CHANCES

In September 1654 an open breach however occurred between Mir Jumla and the King of Golkonda, Abdulla Kutubshah. This drove Mir Jumla into the arms of Aurangzeb and proved disastrous to Golkonda. In 1656 Golkonda which was attacked by Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla had to enter into a humiliating treaty with Aurangzeb. Mir Jumla was kept in Delhi and was rewarded with a grant of the Jagir of the Carnatic held directly under Shah Jehan the Emperor and the king of Golkonda was asked to recall all his officers in the Carnatic (July 1656) so that the now Nawab Mir Jumla might appoint his own men. The retention of Mir Jumla by the Emperor in Delhi was taken in the light of a political detention and the Hindus in the Carnatic were consequently encouraged by the King of Golkonda to revolt against Mir Jumla's Officers. There was a strong expectation that the Chandragiri Raja Sriranga would seize this opportunity to recover his ancestral throne. The English factors at Pulicat, Green hill and Chambers, writing about these events say on 19th Nov. 1656, "The Nawab's (Mir Jumla's) absence gave occasion to jentues rising in several places of the kingdom, some part whereof is reduced to the King and Naiques obedience, who have sent forces to these quarters and are now at the siege of Pulicat and Pundamalle. What the issue will be we know not; but the Nawob's party are very much disheartened and weak". In another letter to Surat dated 5-11-1656, they say, "All these countries formerly conquered by the Nawob

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

are now of late on the revolt the Jentue King with divers Nairnes being in arms Here is nothing but taking and retaking of places. On 10-11-1656 it was stated by the English that the king of Golkonda had let the country of the Carnatio to the Rayalus upon which the Rayalus father in law took possession of part of the country and came to Peddapalam Greenhill and Chambers however wrote on 28-1-1657 that it was gathered that Conār Chetty who was the Rajah's General treacherously delayed attacking the Nawob's (Mir Jumla's) party until the latter which was lead by commander Tuppakki Krishnappa chetti gathered his forces and then fled from the town with his army pursued by the enemy They add that he allowed himself to be captured and was treated well as he was related to Tupakki Krishnappa A letter from Batavia of January 1657 said that the Chandragiri Raja with an army of 8 000 men had *captured the pagoda of Tirupati* and tried to conquer Conjeevaram, Ohengleput etc., This shows that Tirupati had gone out of the Rajah's control in 1646 when Mir Jumla conquered the Carnatic

In 1657 Mir Jumla's commander in-chief Tupakki Krishnappa laid an ambush defeated and dispersed a party of the Chandragiri Raja's house which was returning to Vellore from a plundering expedition The king and his adjutant Shaugée with 1000 horses managed to retreat to Arni There they tried to recruit a fresh army with the help of Bijapur and again take the field Topaki Krish

DISTURBED CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY

nappa also besieged in August 1658 Pūndamalli which was in revolt against Golkonda Kūli Beig, commander of the Golkonda forces, inflicted on him a severe defeat; he was wounded and took him prisoner. During this period the fight for power was between the Vijayanagar King, Mir Jumla's commander Krishnappa chetty, the King of Golkonda and the King of Bijapur. As the English sided Golkonda and had captured Mir Jumla's jank, Krishnappa Chetty laid seige to *Madras* between Sept 1657 and April 1658 when a treaty was concluded according to which the English were to pay annually 380 pagodas in satisfaction of all demands. Such was the disturbed condition of the country during these years.

Mir Jumla died in July 1663 and Neknam Khan became the Nabob of the Carnatic in succession. In his turn he came to the Carnatic with an army of 40,000 men to bring to submission all the recalcitrant elements. He kept one Chennampalli Mirza as his general of the army at Madras and also as his agent. He subdued the whole country by about 1668. From Nagalapuram camp he dictated terms to the English Factors at Chennapatnam also in December 1663. The English Factors wrote about him and his men thus: "They are of such insulting disposition that unless curbed, we shall daily find it worse and worse" In a *letter of December 1664* the factors wrote "The Jentues are now gathering to a head against the Moores and if they should be victorious they would endeavour to do us a discourtesy".

Sri Rangarayulu's visit to Tirumalai at this juncture to worship Turuvengalanatha in the summer of 1665 A.D. Visvavasu (V 143) might have been to appeal to God to grant Divine help for victory in his attempt to regain his kingdom. In fact this is the only inscription in Tirumalai made during the reign of Sri Rangaraya and is given below as foot note¹ :

The inscription records this visit or it may also be that he did not actually visit Tirumalai but only sent the slab bearing the inscription to be deposited in the temple. The year of the inscription is given as the cyolio year Visvavasu and the corresponding Sali Saka is not mentioned. But the prasasti shows that it refers to the Vijayanagar Emperor Srirangaraya.²

He lost his territories to the Golkonda and the Bijapur Muslims. It went to the share of Mir Jumla, commander of the Golkonda army in 1656 as a jagheer held directly under the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan. Tuppacki Krishnayya Chetti was Mir

1 V 143.

- 1 విశ్వవసు సంవత్సర శ్లోకం 10 రా
- 2 శ్రీ తిరువెంగళనాథ దేవుని క్రిమ
- 3 ద్రాక్షాదిరాజ రాజ వరమేశ్వర శ్రీ వీర
- 4 శ్రీరంగరాజ పదాపేద

2. The Devasthanam Epigraphist has erroneously placed this inscription as No. 143 in Vol. V which records the inscriptions of Sadasivvaraya's period. But as there is no Emperor of the name Srirangaraya in whose reign the cyclic year Visvavasu would come except the one which corresponds to 1665 A.D. the inscription records Sri Rangaraya's visit.

SRIRANGARAYA'S LAST VISIT TO TIRUMALAI

Jumla's commander of the army and Syed Ali was his agent in Madras during his absence in Delhi and Bengal between 1656 and 1663 when he died. Neknam Khan was appointed as Nawab in succession. He had therefore to bring to submission all the revolted elements. Tirupati temple could not have been a revolted element. Srirangaraya is said to have captured it in 1657. But it is not known if he was in actual possession in 1663 when Neknam Khan succeeded Mir Jumla. In any case Neknam Khan came with an army of 40,000 men. Even the English and the Dutch Factors had to agree to the payment of rents to him. He even increased it from 380 pagodas to 1200 pagodas a year in the case of Madras. Neknam Khan's agent was Chennampalli Mirza who camped in Tirupati in 1664 A D. Srirangaraya's visit in 1665 lies between the dates 1663 and 1668. If he had been the ruling Emperor at least of Chandragiri in 1665 his visit would have been recorded in language with greater flourish and the inscription could have been on the wall of the temple and not on a separate slab.

This inscription is a landmark in the history of our temple. It is not couched in the usual style with the preamble to such inscriptions. It is not in the Tamil language and script. The last inscription which was in the year 1638 (15th of June) was in Tamil language and script. The next inscription is this one of the year 1665, in the Telugu language and script. It is also in different style, a style

which an ordinary private pilgrim would adopt to record his visit. The prasasti also is rather an abridged one. The purpose of the visit, rather the inscription is to state that he will be always worshipping Tiruvengalanatha. “ తిరువేంగళనాథ దేవుని సదాసేవ ” (Tiruvengalanātha dēvuni sadāsēva) We have to remember here that there are only two classes of people who do Sadā sēva or always think of God Yogis and Bhaktas who have attained a certain stage of mental development do so. The other class consists of those who inspite of their best endeavours have miserably failed to achieve their desires and who realise that faith in God is their only prop in life. He made his last great effort in 1664 to regain his kingdom, but failed to muster sufficient strength. Mysore let him down. The inscription of 1665 A.D. has therefore to be construed as a final appeal to the mercy of Tiruvengalanatha deva. There was no hope but to pray incessantly to Him. This year 1665 might be taken to mark the end of the Vijayanagar Empire.

The second point to note is that the Tamil language ceased to be the official language of the temple perhaps from even before 1665 A.D. Mir Jumla completely conquered the country in 1646. He and his men came from the Tellingana. He would have placed the secular management of the temple in the hands of Telugu knowing men of the locality or from among his Hyderabad men to ensure the receipt of the income from the temple.

THE END OF VIJAYANAGAR'S CONNECTION

He was a rapacious adventurer in the service of the Golkonda King as his vizier. He was himself a military genius. The commander of his army was an equally able and unprincipled Hindu, whose nearest kinsmen were the army leaders under Srirangaraya Maharaya. They were all intent on feathering their own nests even at the expense of the interests of their master. When the king of Golkonda envied his wealth and became suspicious he turned against his master and went into the arms of Aurangazeb (the son of Emperor Shah Jahan) in 1655 and invaded Golkonda. But the Emperor was not for extinguishing Golkonda. So Aurangazeb managed to send him over to Delhi to convert the Emperor by working on the latter's cupidity by the offer of the famous Telingana diamond Kohinoor as a specimen of the wealth that was waiting for the Emperor's touch. It is no wonder that under such conditions there were very few endowments. Pilgrimage to Tirupati would have been a dangerous attempt for Hindus.

The connection of the history of our temple with the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar may be considered to have commenced with the gilding of the Vimanam of Sri Venkatesvara's temple by Sri Mangideva Maharaja in 1359 A.D. and to have ended with the memorial slab left by Srirangaraya Maharaya in the temple in 1665 A.D. It lasted for just over three centuries. The sway of the Shiah Muslim Kings of Golkonda and Bijapur over the Carnatic country was but a passing phase.

Aurangzeb after he became the Emperor at Delhi was keen on extinguishing the former for the reason that they were Shiah Muslims. The other overpowering ambition of his was to capture and annex the Deccan and the Carnatic countries to his empire and destroy Hinduism. He captured the Carnatic but failed to annex it to his empire. Nor was Hinduism destroyed. The inscrutable Will of God checkmated his ambitions by the rapid insurgence of the Maratta power by the entry of Shahji under the aegis of his Bijapur Muslim king into the south and the establishment of a Maratta principality in Tanjore and later by the entry of his son, Sivaji on the plea of settling succession disputes with his brother Venkan over their father's estates and finally by the daring attempt to establish a Maratta supremacy over the entire Carnatic by baulking the ambitions of his personal enemy Aurangzeb. As in the days when the Vijayanagar Prince Kumara Kempana fought the Sultanate of Madurai, so also, when Sivaji and his successors had to fight against the muslim armies of Aurangzeb the fortress of Chengu (Jingee) played a prominent part. The mutual destruction of the Muslim and the Maratta powers and the consequent rise of the British power, were inevitably connected with the fortunes of our temple which stood in need of a thorough overhauling to purge it of those evils which the accumulation of lands and wealth from the votive offerings of devotees had brought with them. The next chapter will be devoted to a short account of this,

THE END OF THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY

Before closing this chapter we have only to bear in mind that the members of the Aravidu dynasty failed to realise that the Hindu Empire was a sacred trust and that its governance could be successfully done only by the combined effort of all its members and not by mutual jealousies and civil strife with blood stained hands. The inevitable Divine punishment had to be borne with resignation by Srimad Rajādhirāja Rāja Paramēśvara Śrī Virapratāpa Śrī Vira Śrīrangaraya Maharayar. Before the end of 1646 his kingdom in the Carnatic was conquered by Mir Jumla for the muslim king of Golkonda. The king of Bijapur was at the same time invading and capturing the Mysore plateau and marching down to Chengī and the Maratta Shahjī, father of Sivajī, was in his employ having been sent by God to establish a foot hold for the Marattas first in Tanjore and later in Chengī. Owing to the clash of interests between the King of Bijapur and Golkonda, the former while capturing the Vellore Fort from Sriranga in 1654 agreed to the latter holding prosession of Chendragiri and some adjoining districts which had been conquered by Mir Jumla. Tirupati therefore temporarily was reoccupied in 1658 by Sriranga. The final struggle which he organised against the Muslims in 1664 seems to have proved an abortive attempt. In the summer of 1665 (Jyeshtha Bahula Dasami of the year Viśvavasū) he bade good bye to his kingdom and devoted himself to offering unceasing prayers to his god Tiruvengadanatha

(Sadā sēva) The whole of South India was ravaged by four armies and there was no safety for Hindus going on pilgrimage. Mir Jumla and his successors would not have been slow to appropriate the endowed lands of our temple or the annual income therefrom.



CHAPTER—XXII

THE POST VIJAYANAGAR PERIOD.

The Temple passes into the hands of the Golkonda Muslim King.

It was surmised at the end of the last Chapter that June 1665 marked the end of the Vijayanagar Empire. It seems to be certainly so with reference to our temple. We know that after the death of Mir Jumla in 1663 one Neknam Khan was appointed Nawab of the Carnatic Country. But we do not know whether he held it on the same terms as his predecessor, that is as a Jageer bestowed directly by the Delhi Emperor Aurangazeb, or was appointed by the King of Golkonda with the approval of the Emperor. In any case he came with an army of 40,000 men and took effective possession of the Jageer. Early in the year 1668 Nawab Neknam Khan was again at Pundamally¹ with his army for the purpose of appointing as a symbol of his overlordship an Avuldar in the town of Madras; and Chennampalli Mirza was appointed as the general of the army and his agent at Madras. About the end of that year the English in Madras sent their brahmin agent Venkatapati to Tirupati where Mirza was camping to obtain a fresh Cowle or Firman for the fort and town of Chennapatnam and for fixing

1 English factory Records (1665-1669) p 151

the annual rent to be paid Mirza sent the brahmin to Golkonda where Neknam Khan was staying. These were actually settled only in April 1672¹. The rent was raised to 1200 pagodas a year from 380 pagodas which Mir Jumla had settled before. Soon after this Neknam Khan died in the same month and his successor Mubā Khān also confirmed the cowle or Firman. These transactions serve to show that the muslim Nawab was in full possession of the Carnatic before 1668. There is also a note in the Dairy & Consult Book dated 28-8-1673 which states that great quantities of cloth of three former years were lying upon Kasa Viranna's hands by reason of the troubles in the country. Again from the fact that the English factors were put to the necessity of conforming to the practice of making annual mamul payments or presents to the Golkonda King and his officers it is plain that the Nawab of the Carnatic was enjoying in fact a subordinate position². By the end of the year 1676 one Lingappa nephew of Maddanna and some other Brahmin officers became very powerful and were considered so corrupt and unsympathetic that the English Factors have recorded thus 'Since thus Bramany Government of Maddanna and his complices with whom neither promises cowls nor

1 Dairy & Consult book P.S.G. 11-4-1672 and 23-4-1672.

2 For th King 493 pagodas worth Maddanna the great Mustadar and the chiefest person in power 184 pagodas Pullapalli Yeuganna, controller general 52½ pagodas Narasa Vittala and other great men 93 pagoda ; muskmla Nabob 88½ pag Mahamad Ibrahim Sarkall, 88½ pagodas

CESSATION OF ENDOWMENTS EXPLAINED

phirmands do appear to be of any validity, they minding nothing but interest and advantages "

Cessation of Endowments explained.

The receipts of our temple from the votive offerings of pilgrims has always been dependent on the economic prosperity of the country—its agriculture, manufactures trade and the availability of currency. The long continued wars had ruined production, manufactures and trade. In the matter of currency also Aurangzeb's policy depleted the country of its standard gold pagoda and the consequent currency manipulations of which he was a past master made the country poorer. "They advise there is great scarcity of money and the people are so fleeced and harassed by the Governors that there is no quick market for anything. And the King having got almost all the pagodas in his country into his own hands, for want of them to pay in their rents have raised their value to a strange height, giving a while since seven rupees for an old pagoda and near 170 new pagodas for 100 old when the real value of an old pagoda, give it a knock with the hammer, is not worth more than a new. By this device the King makes as much more of his country's (letting them still out for as great a quantity of old pagodas as formerly) as will serve to pay his tribute to Aurangzeb, and by this means makes the manufactory of his country, where old pagoda is the thing all things are valued by, to be 40 per cent dearer than it used to be, paying

but the same quantity of old pagodas and no more, for it than they did before ' 1

Maratta invasion in 1677 aggravated the situation.

It was while the country was in this deplorable condition that Sivaji King of the Marattas invaded the country of the Carnatic in may 1677 and marched past Tirupati, Kalahasti and Kanchipuram with an army of 40,000 foot and 5000 horse The English refer in their Diary & Consult Book (9-5-1677) to the sad experience of all countries and places where he used to frequent He is stated to have then entered the service of the Golkonda King, perhaps as an ally to capture the fortress of Chengi (Jingee) which from about 1669 was in the hands ' of the Bijapur King with whom Golkonda was at war

But Sivaji's ostensible object was stated to be to settle with his half brother Venkajee a partition of the family properties left by their father Shahji Bonsla. As Sivaji and his successors played a dominant part in counteracting the ambitious programme of Aurangzeb to conquer and annex the whole of the Southern Peninsula to his Kingdom, to destroy all Hindu temples and Hinduism and make the entire population embrace the religion of Islam it is necessary to go into the antecedents of Sivaji and the Marattas in general, their ambitions and their zeal as the champions of Hindnism. The Marattas inhabited, as is well known the Konkan country lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea. Their strength lay in the inaccessible

1 English Factores India 1685-1686 (December 1687)

fortresses of the ghats. From being peaceful and frugal husbandmen mostly of the Sudra caste they were transformed into a hardy race of warriors. The muslim Kings of Ahamadnagar and Bijapur were mostly responsible for this change. They were first employed in the revenue department where their language, an offshoot of Sanskrit, and script came to be the official ones. Then they were employed in the army on garrison duty and then in the light cavalry or troopers where they displayed extraordinary aptitude. Some of them rose to offices of importance in Bijapur and Golkonda after the annexation of Ahmadnagar by Aurangzeb in the early years of the seventeenth century. Their religious reformers rose from all castes, including the Mahars. Birth and caste counted very little in their ideals of love of mankind and love of country. They achieved a remarkable community of language, creed and life even before Shahji and Sivaji were born. A cake of millet flour was all they wanted while engaged in active war.

Sivaji Maharaja—His antecedents and aims in life.

The tradition relating to the birth of Sivaji might largely have been responsible for moulding his character and mission in life. His grand-father Malloji Bhonsly was a native of Verol near Daulatabad and was the son of the Patel of the place. At the age of twenty five in 1577 and under the patronage of Lookji Jadow Rao, a Maratta chief (Deshmuk of Sindkar and a descendant of the Rajah of Devagiri) he entered the service of Murtiza Nizam

Shah of Ahmadnagar His patron deities were Mahadev and Devi Bhuvani For a long time he had no sons and due to the blessings of a Mahamadan saint (peer) named Shah Sharif a son was born in 1594 who was named after the saint as Shahji The father Malloji was rising in favour and in 1599 A.D., on the occasion of the Holl festival was invited by his patron Jadow Rao, to attend the fifth day festival in his house when his young son Shahji aged about five accompanied him Jadow Rao's daughter Jeeji Bai and Shahji happened to sit together and in a temper of good humour Jadow Rao remarked that they would make a good match He asked his daughter whether she would marry him, when it also happened that they splashed the coloured water on each other The company present considered it a good augury But when Malloji was next invited to a dinner he said he could do so only if Jadow Rao would consider Shahji as his son in law As there was considerable social disparity between Jadow Rao and Malloji there was some perplexity caused To overcome this Malloji acquired more wealth which he alleged was due to his patron goddess Bhuvani bestowing on him a vast treasure Wealth brought with it more power and a higher social status. He became Malloji Rajah Bhonsly in command of 5000 horse and Jageerdar of Poona and Sopa The Sultan himself attended the wedding of Shahji with Jeeji Bai Shahji subsequently took a second wife by name Tooka Bai By the latter Venkaji was his son, by

SIVAJI'S EARLY LIFE

the former Sambaji and Sivaji. While bestowing the treasure on Malloji, the goddess Bhavani is said to have appeared to him and told him "there shall be one of thy family who shall become a king; he will be endowed with the qualities and attributes of Sambhu; he will re-establish and preserve justice in Maharashtra and destroy all who molest Brahmins and desecrate the temples of the gods. His reign will form an epoch and his posterity will mount the throne for twenty seven generations". Sivaji was born in May 1627 in Seonir fort; his greatness was due to forts and his death was in a fort. His father lived more with his second wife Tooka Bai Mohitay. His elder brother Sambaji who as the favourite of his father was always with him died early in life. Sivaji who was neglected by his father lived with his mother in Poona and one Dadaji Kondeva was his guardian. His education was all from his mother who fed him with tales of bravery from the Epics and the Puranas and inspired him with zeal for protecting the four castes and cows. She thus moulded his character. The words of the goddess Bhavani would have been inspiringly narrated to him by her. He commenced his independent career in 1646 by attacking and taking the hill fort of Torna.

After the extinction of the Ahmadnagar kingdom Shahji entered the service of the Bijapur king with the cognizance of Emperor Shah Jahan. He entered the Carnatic along with the Bijapur troops in 1637 and marched right down to Chengi Fort and

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to Tanjore. As the result of the enmity between the king of Madura and king of Tanjore, Shahja's son Venkaji is said to have defeated both and to have occupied Tanjore. We are not sure of the date and year. The point to remember is that in the early years of the seventeenth century the Marattas found a footing in Tanjore. Shahji is said to have visited Sivaji in the ghats in 1662 along with his son Venkaji. At one time Shahji was arrested by Bijapur and was released on sureties being given for the good conduct of his son Sivaji. But Sivaji went on extending his dominion playing upon the enmity between the Delhi Emperor and the Bijapur king. He was consequently taken captive but the Emperor treated him with such undisguised contempt that the former opponent escaped in 1666 to be the sworn enemy of Aurangazeb. He resumed war in 1669, sacked Surat for the second time in 1670 and demanded 'chauth' in 1672, crowned himself as king in 1674 as Chatrapati Sivaji and pledged himself to fulfil his obligations as a devout Hindu king as foretold by Goddess Bhavani. Meanwhile the death of his father and the settlement of the family properties with his brother Venkaji in Tanjore gave him a plausible excuse for entering the Carnatic country with an army in 1677, having become an ally of the king of Golkonda. The other reason was to wrest the fortress of Chengli from the king of Bijapur who had been occupying it from 1669.

There is no doubt that the complications created in Hindustan by Aurangazeb largely favoured and

AURANGAZEB'S RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

even encouraged Sivaji in his bold campaigns Aurangazeb was a stern Puritan of the Sunni school of Islam. "For religion he persecuted the Hindus and destroyed their temples..... For religion's sake he waged his unending wars in the Deccan, not so much to stretch wider the boundaries of his empire, as to bring the lands of the heretical Shiah's within the dominion of orthodox Islam....." Further the Marattas were getting their funds from the Bijapur and Golkonda kings who paid blackmail to the brigands. Aurangazeb's plan was first to exterminate these two Shiah kingdoms. His religious persecution set the whole of Hindustan in a ferment. Learning that the Brahmns of Benares and other places were in the habit of teaching their Upanishads and the Yoga practices to Muslims also, he wreaked his overgeance in 1669 by destroying the temple of Vishnu in Benares and razing to the ground the shrine in Mathura and building a mosque thereon. The idols removed from there were brought to Agra and buried under the steps of the mosque so that pious muslims might tread over them. There was subsequently an insurrection in Mewat of the Satnamis (expounders of the eternal truth) several thousand strong who perished in the struggle as martyrs. He reimposed the poll tax on Hindus which his predecessors had abolished. The Rajputs were in revolt for these reasons and also because their sons were being taken away to Delhi to be educated in

1 Jane Porle's Mediaeval India under Muhammadan Rule
p 359

Islamic culture and to be converted thereafter. Such was the situation created by Aurangzeb.

While Aurangzeb's plan was to destroy the two Shilah kingdoms first and then exterminate the Marattas, Shivaji's plan was to play Golkonda against Bijapur and extend his own territories and power. He therefore entered the Carnatic in 1677 as the friend of Golkonda, because the Carnatic was far away from Delhi where the affairs in Hindustan were engaging Aurangzeb's attention.

Aurangzeb's religious zeal resulted in forced conversion, mass executions, rape and plunder of the Hindus and destruction of temples. The lessons which Shivaji had learnt from his mother made him behave in a humane manner particularly to captured muslim women and children. Everything that would go to provision and feed the enemy forces was destroyed and wealth looted (scorched earth policy). Aurangzeb's policy was similar to the policy of our western nations who use the atom bombs to destroy life, property and all. Shivaji's policy was similar to that adopted by the vānaras (monkeys) to destroy everything that would go to feed the enemy's forces. The Marattas would allow the enemy to march through territories where even the grass for fodder had been cut down and burnt and at the end of the campaign find himself starved. They avoided facing the enemy for a decisive battle unless their numerical strength was far superior to that of the enemy, "To fight such people was to do battle with the air or to strike blows upon water."

SIVAJI'S CONQUESTS AND PREMATURE DEATH

Sivaji's conquest of the Carnatic and premature death in 1680.

In Feb. 1678 peace was however concluded between Bijapur and Golkonda and the former intended to send an arm^y to re-take Chennai from Sivaji. In April 1678 Sivaji's general Santoji concluded a firm peace with Ekkaji (son of Venkaji) and his territories were handed back to him. Santoji was feasted in the Tanjore castle and sent back to Chennai. In the middle of August 1678 Abdulla Khan the commander of the Bijapur forces in the Vellore castle surrendered to Sivaji's forces after a siege. Before the end of 1678 Sivaji had got full and quiet possession of all the countries between Chennai and Vellore, having 72 strong hills and 14 forts with a revenue of 22 lakhs of pagodas a year. It was feared that very soon he would conquer the whole of the Golkonda country. But his ambitions came to an end by his premature death in 1680 by a sudden illness. "There was nothing of the libertine or brute" about him. He was moral and religious; a staunch and devout Hindu, he was tolerant to the Muslims and venerated their saints and the Koran. Ramdas and Tukaram were his gurus.

Aurangzeb's conquest of the Deccan down to Trichinopoly.

Aurangzeb pursued the fulfilment of his aim to conquer and annex the Bijapur and Golkonda kingdoms. The great unpopularity of the two corrupt Brahmin Ministers of Golkonda (Madanna and

Akkanna) helped greatly to detach the muslim subjects and officers of Golkonda from their allegiance to the king. Although the Carnatic country was the Jageer of Musa Khan (after the death of Nekkannam Khan in 1672) Madanna interfered in its affairs and appointed his nephew Podeli Lingappa as Collector of rents. Both were corrupt and oppressive. When Madanna's brother Akkanna went over to these parts in 1681 and was camping for seven days in Tirupati the agent of the English at Golkonda was sent over by Madanna to Tirupati to arrange for the payment of adequate presents to Akkanna. The merchants of Pulicat who declined to make adequate presents were seized and put in irons. Madanna was also attempting in vain about 1685 to bring about a triple alliance between Sambaji (Sivaji's son and successor) Bijapur and Golkonda. Aurangzeb's son Prince Moazzam besieged the capital of Golkonda in 1685 and consented to a treaty of peace. On this occasion Madanna and Akkanna were called to a durbar and dismissed. On their way home they were mobbed and beheaded. There was a general slaughter of Brahmins. Aurangzeb again invaded Bijapur and Golkonda and conquered them in 1686 and 1687 respectively. Bijapur city was completely ruined. Sambaji was also captured and put to death in 1689. The Moghul army continued the campaign and conquered the Southern Peninsula right down to Trichinopoly. Thereupon the Maratta forces from Chennai began to plunder the villages which lately belonged to Gol

ECONOMIC CHAOS IN THE CARNATIC

konda and to lay waste the country. They took the Akkara fort and killed its muslim governor. Their flying squad captured three forts and a hundred towns in few days, robbing and plundering everywhere Kanchipuram was plundered on 13th January 1688.

One of the life guards of the Moghul's had to apply to the English at Ft. St George for a guard of horsemen and soldiers up to the river Krishna to transmit safely large revenue collections made, since the whole country had become extremely unsafe. The captive King of Golkonda Abul Hasan was beheaded in July 1688 on suspicion that a Maratta relief force was coming to capture the fort where he was lodged. In the Southern Peninsula the struggle for power was now between the Moghul's, the Marattas and the Hindu principalities. The Dutch, the English and the Portuguese suffered in their trade.

Economic chaos in the Carnatic country.

The chaotic condition of the country is well described in a reply which the newly formed first Joint Stock Company of the native merchants of Madras gave to the President in Council of Fort St. George on 1-5-1690 when they were called upon to explain why they failed to fulfil old contracts entered into. They stated that they made a Joint Stock Company with 50,000 pagodas subscribed capital and had suffered losses. In 1688 also they suffered losses. "They sent kanakapillays and peons with 20 merchants to the several parts for the provision

of cloth, but the Moghuls visiting these parts together with the sad mortality and famine put a check thereto by the weavers going over to other parts which necessitated them to solicit their return by promising houses, looms yarn and money before hand in those hazardous times when Yetta Matara Timmappa, a general of the Moghul was at Cuddappah The Marattas in the interim sent Vittala Ballarao Gopal Pundit to Conjeevaram to rob and plunder that Government, afterwards taking it upon themselves The present troubles and revolutions in the country is such that which side so ever gets the victory they will plunder and ransack the houses, men women and what else they meet with so ravenous are they grown none escapes them Of late one Brahmana Pundarikaksha is come to Conjeevaram and has rented the said country forcing money from merchants weavers etc. and therefore they have all relinquished the place some coming here (to Madras) and others absconding in woods The Marattas also at Chenji forced money from the people there for defraying the charges of the army which has made them leave that place too as the others The Sadraspatam Tegnapatam merchants complaining of their losses.

The countries Adoni and Gutti whence comes all the cotton and cotton yarn is embroiled in war and troubles which is the reason none comes from thence and what remains in these parts is all spent If your honour commands us in anything we shall readily obey to the utmost of our powers provided

TELUGU INSCRIPTION OF 1684 A D

the Hon'ble company runs the risk of our trade in the country from their war with the Moghul " The company agreed that the troubles in the country were daily increasing, that trading would be hazardous owing to robberies, seizures and obstructions. The same conditions prevailed in the Porto Novo and the Northern country (Circars) For the safety of their goods the English decided on purchasing the Tegnapatam Fort from the Rajah of Chenji.

A solitary inscription in Telugu of 1684 by a Maratta officer.

From the above passage we can well understand why there were no inscriptions of endowments on the walls of the Tirumalai and Tirupati temples during all the years after 1638. There is however a solitary inscription dated 19th March 1684 (Sali-Saka 1606, cyclic year Raktakshi, Chaitra Suddha 14, Angaraka varam Hasta nakshatram'). It is on the south wall of the second prakaram of the Tirumalai temple and is of special interest to us. The language and the script are Telugu of the ordinary grāmya style and not Tamil. The preamble is not in the old grand style giving the name of the King with prasasti. The reason would have been the difficulty to state who the King at the time was, the country being in a distracted state of war although the Golkonda Muslim had become defacto ruler. We have seen that Madanna and Akkanna had been to Tirupati about 1681 making a fairly

1 Tuesday however was Suddha Dvadasi and Pui va Phalguni Nakshatram and 18th March.

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long stay The endowment with which we are now concerned was for a food offering of the Suddhāṇṇa Alankaram variety that is cooked rice some cooked green gram pulse and curds for Śrī Venkatesvara and for Śrī Varahasvami and one pot (goon) of pāyasam, and pachohadi and dosaippadi The distribution of the offered prasadam was to be made among the persons actually doing services such as singamurai (fuel supply) paṇimurai (public works of the temple) the two jyyangars sthānāla varu kanganippān and dēsayi (or strangers), padikāvali, utara parapatyam, adhyapakam and sundries and also for vinlyōgam or free distribution to pilgrims in gōshṭi, also sthala Śrīvaishnavas. The time honoured procedure for distribution had thus been broken by 1681 The measurement of rice continued to be by the time honoured sōla and half sōla (Kōvila sōla the temple sōla, and not the bazar measure) The endowment amount was not placed in the hands of the old or the new Sthanattar The new managers were called Tirumala Tirupati Sthānālavaru The endowment was not in cash but in the shape of a gold Khanti of aparāñji gold (ornament worn round the neck) It was already pointed out how the value of the old varāhan had gone up by more than 40% and was rare to obtain, owing to the rapacity of Aurangazeb to corner all the old varahans to play a currency fraud on the people. Even the Kanthi was left in the possession of one Kunrapakkam Ayyavaru Timmanayyavaru who was expected to supply the articles required for

SIVARAJA RAMACHANDRA DABIRSA

the performance of the services, the Sthānālavarū being responsible for making the offering to God daily “ ఇందుకు సదన..... రూద 200 కుండ్రపాక్కం అయ్యవారి సాస్వతం మావిరనణ...అనుభవిచ్చేది యీలాగున తమ..... సారంపర్యం నడవగలది..... ”

(Towards the expenses 200 is kept in the possession of Kunrapakkam Ayyavaru This endowment ... may be enjoyed In this manner this may go on through your posterity). The Khanti was of aparangji gold weighing 25 varāhan weight and valued at 525 Sriangaraja gaga (X X). The donor is one “ Raja Sri Sivaiāja Ramachandira Yadamālēra Dabirsa of Srivatsa gōtra, Āsvalāyana sutram and Rik Sākha ”.

The prasadam was asked to be offered to the Deity immediately after another one for which endowment seems to have been made by one Mahārāja Sri Shūda Bhānūji Pantulugaru From the details given for distribution of the prasadams it is inferred that the sthānālavarū (which we take to be the same as the word Sthanattar) had been reduced to four in number from the number six which they were in 1638 and that the new managers were Telugu people Previously the inscriptions used to commence with the words “ Subhamastu, Svasti Sri ..” This inscription commences with “ Sri Vēnkatēsa, Subhamastu ” The word ‘Nīrvāham’ as referring to the share of the Sthanattar has disappeared and no distribution of the prasadams

on that account was made. The donor himself stipulated how the distribution should be made it was not left to the old manual procedure. Those who were doing the actual manual work were given the lion's share. The Sthānālavāru were given a nominal share. The dōsāntaris received a share. The terms Periya Koyil kelvi and Ilam Koyil kelvi to designate the jiyars gave place to Peda Jiyangaru and Chinna Jiyangaru. This would indicate that the Koyil kelvi office was abolished. A new office Uttara Parapatyam had come into existence. The donor's share called Viṭṭavan viḷukkādu was only a nominal one. Adhyāpakam and Sthala Sri valshnavas got a share. The traditional subscription to an inscription disappeared and the new one is

“యాలాగున తమ పారంపర్యం నడవగల దయలు

తిరుమల తిరువతి కోయిల్ స్తల రణాలు చేవాయిలు”

The old Sthanattar and the Tirunimra ur udaiyar seem to have gone out of the temple and Telugu seems definitely to have supplanted Tamil

Lastly even the very name by which a food offering to the deity was usually known came to be altered. Formerly from the earliest days, the food offering used to be designated as Tirupponakam or Sandhi Tirupponakam whether it was Suddhānnam (cooked rice only) or other preparation. The name given in this inscription is 'Avasaram (అవసర)

One of the meanings given for the word Avas in a Sanskrit Vedic dictionary is Āhāram or food. This term is noticed also in three previous inscriptions of

KANUNGO'S OFFICE

the years 1554¹, 1579² and 1616³. The inscription also tells us that there was a similar food offering (avasaram) instituted by one Maharaja Sri Shūdāji Bhanuji Pantulu. There seems to be some justification to infer from this inscription that Aliya Ramaraja's food offerings ceased after the conquest of the country by the Golkonda Kings and that the few who were continuing to do service in the temple stood in need of some wholesome food like Suddhanam.

Surmise as to the disappearance of most of the endowed lands.

It is not improbable that all the endowed lands scattered over the country were taken over by the Nabob of the Carnatic as they according to usage formed part of his Jageer and were treated as part of the Jageerdar's property. Aurangazeb after he conquered the Deccan is said to have divided his Empire into a number of Subhas, Jageers etc. The limits of each Subha, Jageer etc, were settled and entered in registers maintained by an officer known as *Kanungo*. The information given about this office in the Diary and Consultation-Book of F S G. 11-7-1695 is worth quoting in this connection

The office of the Kanungos.

"By the conquest of Golkonda and Vizapore (Bijapur) Aurangazeb's dominions consisted of 56 Kingdoms or Principalities divided under several Kanungos who kept an account of the value and contents of all lands and always resided with the

1 V 155

2 VI 2.

3 VI 19

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

King and gave directions for the distribution of lands to the several Subhas and Principal officers as they were appointed by the King and resolved questions and disputes that arose among the Subhas concerning their limits and once a year each Kanungo presented unto the King a general state of the accounts of the lands under the several Subhas viz, the value and contents of lands distributed into jageers rented by the formers and remaining in the King's hands, the Subhas being accountable for the two latter *but the Jageers being lands allotted to the general for the maintenance of a proportionate number of horses they were accountable for their own Jageers*

These Kanungos receive no salary from the King but are allowed to take one or two per cent upon the produce of the lands not out of the King's part but the part belonging to the farmers and husbandmen whereby they are enabled to keep a great number of servants in all parts for gaining intelligence and keeping accounts.

Among the head Kanungo is Banpany Maha Dev Maratta Brahmin, as most of them are either Marattas, Guzerattie or Coity, the Moors and Persians being very ill accountants who about seven years ago were taken by Sambaji and by the King made Kanungos of Golkonda and Bijapur Kingdoms to Aurangazeb among whom is Vissagu Banchurra Kanungo of the Carnatio country from Kistna river to the extent of Cheungee country, viz., all that part wherein lies the Kingdom of Golkonda and part of the Kingdom of Bijapur The latter is by them

KANUNGO'S KEY POSITION

termed the new conquered Kingdom wherein by the Moghul's order the Kanungos receive 2 per cent, but in the part which lies within the Kingdom of Golkonda they receive but $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This Vissago doth attend constantly (either himself or men of his own family) with the Nawab, Diwan or other officers of the King's revenues and sometimes travel from place to place to oversee and regulate the particular accounts of towns and countries, and *whenever the Nawab has occasion to make out a jageer or farme the Kanungo's accounts do determine the particular towns to be assigned and their value, so that it is much in his power either to favour or prejudice Therefore those that are concerned in the King's lands take care not only to get the lands right entered in his accounts, but to engage him to declare in their favour when any question arises relating to these lands."*

Temple lands how treated.

The English had to experience difficulties in some cases by their neglect to keep the Kanungo in their favour. *From the fact that in later days we have rewards to show that the temple lands were farmed out by the Nabob treating them as his own lands, we may safely assume that they were so treated during the closing years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century after conquest by Aurangzeb who converted the Carnatic into a Jageer under a Nawab within the Golkonda Subha* The revenues from the villages would naturally have been appropriated by the Nawab leaving the temple services to be carried on from a portion of the votive

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offerings received from time to time. Owing to the great insecurity for pilgrims traffic and the dearth of money the services in the temple would have been reduced to the lowest scale possible. This perhaps explains the endowment of Dabirsa in the shape of a gold ornament to provide an income for the simple food offering described in the inscription.

How the protracted Moghul Maratta war ravaged and impoverished the country

Aurangzeb's campaign in the Carnatic was under the command of his son Kam Baksh and his minister Asid Khan, father of Zulphikar Khan who was the general in Command. Santoji Gharapura who came with Sivaji continued to be the Maratta commander throughout the campaign even after the death of Sivaji and Sambaji. Santoji well understood the weakness of Zulphikar Khan viz., his love of plunder. The latter's aim was to prolong the war and make up as much wealth as he could by plunder, ransom and such other means. Santoji gave full opportunity for this and thereby wearied out the Moghul army driving it even to the verge of starvation. When a siege threatened to become so effective as to end in a capture the general of the weaker side was allowed the facilities to escape. It became a public scandal and was even reported to Aurangzeb. He suspected even Kam Baksh of traffic the King's imperial honour with the Marattas. The English (F.S.G.) wrote on 25 10 1696 that Zulphikarkhan (Nawab of the Carnatic) pursued Santoji till he came to north of Trivellore and Santoji went on plundering the

RAVAGES BY THE MOGHULL MARATTA WAR

country right up to Kistnapatam. The Nawab made his halt at Trivellore and Santoji went away to Tirupati, having an eye on some treasure at Kaveripak. Another statement is to the effect that on 30th September 1696 the Nawab went out from Arcot to fight the Marattas who were 25000 strong and who surrounded the Muslim's camp. The Nawab's provision having been spent (after he had sent messages to Santoji) made his way through the thinnest of the Marattas and went back to Arcot; "there hath hitherto seemed to be an understanding between the Nawab and Marattas and perhaps it will end in a good piscash".

It was the Divine Will that the Moghulls and the Marattas should only ravage and plunder the country but not fight a war to the finish. Throughout this war which lasted for over twenty years the Marattas do not appear to have transgressed the rules of warfare and adhered to Sivaji's principles. The sufferings of the populace was limited to the plunder of provisions and fodder for feeding the army. Even the merchants of Madras complained only to that extent against the Marattas. They respected the muslim Mosques, their Koran, their women and children who were noncombatants. Zulphikarkhan's avarice made him prolong the campaign and plunder the country of its wealth and even desecrate the temples. It was only when peremptory orders came from Delhi due to complaints received that a decisive action was fought and Chennai captured in 1698. Even in doing this he

allowed Rama Raja (Raja Ram) King of Marattas to escape to the Vellore Fort. Gusafarkhan was appointed governor of Ohenji Fort and country. He pursued Rama Raja as far as Sirpa and then marched to Gurramkonda and returned. During this campaign the population of every other religious centre in the south suffered but not so in Tirumalai. The finance of the temple however suffered because pilgrims could not possibly undertake a journey. In this connection the prayer of Sri Vedanta Desika to Sri Ranganathaswami of Srirangam offered in his Abhitisthavam about 1360 A.D. after the successful campaign of Prince Kumara Kempanna and the return of the Idol to Srirangam may be quoted here —

Abhi prapidi lakshmanah kalita sakya lōkāyataih
Tulsihka yavanādi bhujagat jumbha mānam
bhayam

Prakṣaṣṭa nijaśaktibhiḥ prasabbamāyudaiḥ
panchabbih

Kohiti tridasa rakshataih kshapaya Ranganātha
kahanā

(2nd Slokam)

It became a war of attrition to the Moghuls. The Deccan was a desert where the path of the Marattas was traced by pillage, ravaged fields and smoking villages. The Moghul army was enfeebled and demoralised. Those 'infeenal footsoldiers' were croaking like rooks in an invaded rookery, clamouring for their arrears pay. The finances were in hopeless confusion and Aurangzeb refused to be

SADAT-ULLA KHAN AND TODAR MULL

pestered about them ". There was much less blood of the Hindus shed.

After Aurangazeb's death in 1707, the scene of war and confusion was confined to Hindustan. The Marattas played a great part in it. Zulphikarkhan who played the game in the Carnatic became Bakshi of the whole empire under Bahadur shah in the middle of 1711. About the same time a Rajaput by name Svarup Singh was appointed Governor of Chennai. Owing to war between him and the English there was much loss of property to the Hindus in those parts. When Farruksayyar became Emperor at Delhi Zulphikarkhan was beheaded by his orders about 1713 and all his treasures which were kept in Ft. St. George were confiscated. That was the fate of the man who plundered the Carnataca country during the protracted campaign which he conducted.

Sadat-ulla khan and Todar Mull.

Sadat-ulla Khan was appointed in October 1713 as the Nawab of the Deccan country and Phousdar of Carnataka Golkonda countries. The Jageer of Zulphikar Khan was made over to him. *He was a peace loving man.* One Todar Mulli was considered to wield the greatest influence with him. The Statue of this Todar Mull with those of his mother and wife are in the Tirumalai temple from which we may infer that he did some real good to the temple during his life time. The English in Ft St George in sending some presents to him wrote (January 4, 1714) that he was very influential with the Nabob

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

and would manage to prevent the Nabob's marching towards Chennapatnam side. The Nabob was at that time besieging Chenji and calling upon Svarup singh to surrender. Sadat-ulla Khan died in 1733 and one Dostali Khan was appointed as Nawab and Gulam Hussain Khan as the Divan. The appointment was made by Chinochiklis Khan by order of the Emperor Muhammad Shah Patcha Gausji. We have no information about the affairs of the Tirumalai temple during all this period. The political conditions in the whole of India were such that there would have been no safety for pilgrim traffic, nor were the ryots in a condition to accumulate wealth. But the Tirumalai temple and the surrounding country seem to have enjoyed a fairly quiet period.

The sudden incursion of the Marattas in 1740

Dost Ali killed in Damalcheru battle.

This tranquility was however disturbed in 1740. An invasion of the Carnatic country seems to have been thought of under the command of Baji Rao (during the reign of Sahu) in the year 1738 to avenge an insult offered by the Moghuls to the Maratta Royal family in Tanjore¹. But it was put off due to Nadir Shah's invasion into the Empire of

¹ In 1737 one Aycoji Raja (Baba Sahib) died after a reign of only one year. His minor son Pratap Singh succeeded him and the mother Seejan Bai acted as regent. The Nawab of the Carnatic Dost Ali captured Trichinopoly and interfered in the affairs of Tanjore, dethroned her and appointed one Bahaji, a distant relation. This is the insult offered to the Tanjore family. Bahaji himself was nearly stabbed to death by the Muslim minister of the Nawab of Arcot in 1741.

THE MARATTAS INVASION OF KARNATAKA

the Mughulls. So in August 1739 the Maratta invasion of Carnataka matured into a fact after the departure of Nadirshah. This invasion seems to have also been instigated by Nizam Ali, the son of the Nizam of Hyderabad who as the Subhedar of the Deccan and the Carnatic had some time about 1731 entered into a treaty with the Marattas agreeing to the payment of the chauth and sardeshmukhi contribution to them to avoid war between the two. Dost Ali Khan did not pay this contribution ever since he became the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1733 nor did he pay his tribute due to the Nizam. He was thus six years in arrears to the tune of 60 lakhs of rupees. The Nizam agreed to the Marattas invading the Carnatic to collect the arrears. The Maratta force consisted of 50,000 horse and came by the Kallur pass via Damalcheruvu on the western flank of the Tirumalai Hill.

Dost Ali had previous intimation of this. The Nawab of Cuddappa had struck up a peace with the Marattas by making a present of two lakhs of rupees and two elephants. He had also withdrawn the forces he had sent to guard the defiles of Guvvalacheruvu kanama which opens a way to Arcot. Bangai Yachamma Naik, Meer Asad and other Poligars however went and drained the Piter tank of all water so that the Marattas might suffer for want of drinking water. The Chikka Rayulu (Prince) of Punganuru acted as guide to the Maratta army 10,000 strong through a narrow defile with sharp thorns on both sides. The rest of the Maratta

army was in the rear and came down the Hills rear. The Nawab was attacked both in front and rear and was killed along with his second son and some other nobles. The money and riches which the Nawab kept in the tents were plundered by the Marattas. The eldest son Safdar ali Khan who was coming from Lalapet to succour his father heard of the incident and retired to Vellore Fort for safety and was pursued by Bhaskar Roy, Narahari Roy and Bheem Roy. This happened on 9th May 1740. The President of the Council of Fort St. George in recording this incident in the Diary and Consult-Book on 12th May 1740 states that he saw no room to doubt that the Marattas will range over the whole province. He made defence arrangements for the Fort by mounting 200 guns. Kanohipuram Trivellore and all the villages between Madras and Arcot were plundered and burnt. Poligars joined in the looting. Muslims with their families took refuge in Ft. St. George. Subsequently villages adjacent to Ft. St. David, such as Manalurpet, Kalasapakam, Wulundore and even Porto Novo were plundered by the 14th May. The killing of Nawab Dost Ali and his son was a serious matter and Nazir Jung, the son of the Nizam and the instigator of the expedition did not contemplate such acts being perpetrated. The Maratta commander who was called upon to explain replied that he did it and Nazir Jung might do what he pleased. It was considered certain that the Marattas would soon capture Chenji also. Portions of the broken up Muslim army

THE VISIT OF BAJI RAO'S MOTHER AND WIFE

proved as dangerous to the people in the villages as the Marattas were to the towns.

Baji Rao's mother and wife worship Sri Venkatesvara.

In a letter dated *18th May 1740* written by Ravanutla Audiappah, spy of the English at Kodakanti near Arcot, there is a piece of information that on that date Baji Rao's mother and his wife had arrived at Tirupati (to worship Sri Venkatesvara) and that *Krishnaji Pantulu had gone out from Arcot to receive them*. Their accompanying an army of invasion might have been more to fulfil a social obligation of offering condolence to the Queen Regent Seejan Bye who lost her husband in 1737 and whom the Nawab of Arcot (Dost Ali) had insulted by deposing her from the Regency. The same spy Ravanutla Audiappa wrote to the English a letter on 27th September 1740 received 1-10-1740 (Country Correspondence) from which it is seen that the income from the Tirupati temple was being systematically appropriated by the Nawab of Arcot and that a sum of rupees Fifty thousand was ordered to be handed over to the Vakils of the Marattas as an urgent and partial measure of satisfaction of demands. Out of this amount the Vakils had the sanction of Baji Rao to distribute Rupees Twenty thousand on charities in the Tirumalai temple. The distribution might have been in compliance with the intentions of Baji Rao's mother and wife when they worshipped the deity on 18th May last. This letter of Ravanutla Audiappa is of interest as it shows the difficult plight in which

Safdar Ali (Nawah) was placed at the time 'The Vakils belonging to the Marattas have already made a very urging demand of the Nawab for their money. Altho he was much displeased with them for their ill behaviour yet used them civilly and allowed them some money for their expense and promised to pay them one hundred thousand rupees on account of their Masters—*fifty thousand rupees is already ordered to be paid them at Tirupati out of the money that place produces to the Sircar*. I am told the Vakils before mentioned sent their people to Tirupati to receive the money and to distribute *twenty thousand rupees for charity there at the Pugoda (agreeable to their masters orders)* and to bring the remainder to them. The other fifty thousand rupees it is not yet known when or in what place it will be paid ' ,

Subsequent Political Events.

About the state of the Province there is a letter dated July 9 1740 written by the President (F S G) to Bombay which states - 'There remains a considerable sum yet due to Marattas of that which was stipulated to be paid them upon which account their vakils talk in very high terms. The Maratta army which consisted upward of 40000 horse under the command of Futta Sing and Raghuji have since been joined by 20,000 more under the command of Siddhoji. They are now in the dominion of Mysore and have raised great contributions. They seem inclined to march further south ward before they return again to North ward. *This province continues*

1 Quoted from the letter of Ravanutla Audiappa.

THE MARATTAS AND TRICHINOPOLY

still without any Government and without any force to protect it. The late Nawab and his son were greatly indebted to their soldiers who refuse to list again until they are paid their arrears" The Marattas captured Trichinopoly on 13th March 1741 and Chanda Saheb had to agree to pay 14 lakhs of rupees, half of which cash down on the spot and the other half after he went to Pondichery. Murari Gadbeda was made temporary Governor of Trichinopoly with an army 30,000 horse Safdar Ali Khan was murdered on October 6, 1742, in the Vellore Fort by his brother-in-law Gulam Murtaz Ali Khan who proclaimed himself Nawab of Arcot On hearing this Murari Gadbeda plundered a large number of villages around Walikandapuram. But Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah' recaptured Trichinopoly from the Marattas in August 1743 and finally appointed Anwar ud-din (Anvardikhan) as the Nawab of Arcot

Although the Marattas did not make any serious attempt to recapture Trichinopoly and establish their supremacy in the South, there was the scare that at any moment they might do so. On 4th January 1744 came the news that when the Nizam and his son were near the Kistna river crossing on

1 Anandarangam Pillai in his diary of the 21st February 1743 writes that the Nizam with his sons, kinsmen and nobles advanced, as though the sea was rising, with an over whelming force of 70,000 horse and foot and elephants (about 500) About 14 Poligars with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot accompanied him. The Marattas accompanied the Nizam with 20,000 horse under the command of Raja Chandra sen and Raja Nimbal Sing The latter proceeded to Tirupati to worship the God of that place

their way to Golkonda they were faced with a Maratta army on the other bank and therefore withdrew three days march to Pocatore. The Marattas crossed the river and some skirmishes took place. Kajee Niyamatulla Khan (temporary Governor of Cnenji) was sent back so as to prevent the Marattas going to Trichinopoly. The whole country was alarmed at this. Again on November 25 1745 the Nizam sent a letter to the Nawab of Arcot when he was at Trichinopoly asking him to repair at once to Arcot and from thence to join the Subhas of Cuddappah and Kandannur (Kurnool) to oppose the passage of the Marattas who were gathering to invade the Carnatic. Again on 7th February 1746 news was received that the Nizam was facing a Maratta army on the banks of the Kistna river. In the meantime war was declared between France and England and the news was received in Madras on January 18 1745. This was the beginning of the end of the Muslim and also the Maratta power in India and particularly in the South. Dupleix and Clive are the heroes of this struggle.

DUPLEIX AND CLIVE.

Siege of Arcot, Tirumalai money for Clive's relief

Historians some at least are of the view that if Baji Rao had not cast his eyes on conquering the North (Hindustan) but had followed up his successes in the South and had consolidated the Maratta supremacy there, there would have been a permanent Hindu Raj in this province. His successor Balaji

THE ENGLISH AND OUR TEMPLES

Baji Rao committed another blunder. He deviated from the old ideal of having a purely Hindu army of lightning-speed cavalry and of improving and consolidating its strength with artillery men. Men of other religious persuasion having different ideals in life were allowed into the army and predatory warfare caught his imagination more largely. The truth is that it seems to have been the Divine Will that the Muslims and the Marattas had to fulfil their mission of mutual destruction. The fanaticism of the one and the crude philosophy mixed up with lust of power of the other were equally unsuited to the systematically developed philosophical Hinduism of South India and its norm of temple worship. The Sri Vaishnava temples of the south in particular would have lost their special features if the Marattas had established their supremacy here. The latter could possibly never have accepted the Visishtadvaita philosophy of Sri Ramanuja and the Tamil Alvars. Aggressiveness and violence in thought and word are opposed to Sri Vaishnavism. It seems to have been the Divine dispensation that men of an alien religion owing allegiance to similar principles of love and service (when smitten on one cheek to show the other also) should hold sway for some time lured by the opportunities for appropriating the surplus income of the temples but all the while looking at our faith with contempt. The English made it their policy not to interfere with our religious beliefs and practices. Their own Christian Missionaries went a step further and insisted on

complete withdrawal from the management of our temples, leaving it to us to manage or mismanage our religious institutions. Such an attitude the Marattas would not have taken.

How the English happened to interfere with the affairs of the Tirumalai temple will now be explained. The English and the French were the two powers who were rising in importance in the South from the time Monsieur Dupleix became Governor of Pondichery in 1742. His dream was to establish the French power here. When war broke out in Europe in 1745 between France and England it was extended to India as well and the Nawab of Arcot had to warn both not to carry on their sea fight within his territorial waters. The Nawab was an ally of the English. Madras was captured by the French on 21st September 1746 and was restored to the English on 18-8-1749 under the terms of the treaty of Aix la-chapelle. The power of the French and their influence with one faction of the Muslims was considered to be more than that of the English even before Madras was captured. When Nizam ul mulk recaptured Trichinopoly from the Marattas in 1743 the English from Fort St. George sent their congratulations and handsome presents. The envoys who went to Trichinopoly were made to wait several months before they could get an interview and the presents could be got accepted. But the French had easier access. Even the Zamin dar of Bommarazupalem (the present Karvetnagar) tried to Court the favour of Dupleix through his

principal Dubash Ananda Rangam Pillai as is told in his Diary dated 17th May 1746 Kārvetiraja of Bommarāzupalaiyam sent the following presents through his palace priest Aiyābirālayan and Srinivasachari, the son-in-law of his ācharya (priest) and four temple archakas of Tirupati, viz., sacred offerings from the shrine of Sri Venkateswaraswami, an Arab horse, an emboidered silk cloth, a Guzarati sash, a silk turban, a shawl and a dagger in-laid with gold. These were taken to be presented to Ananda Rangam Pillai who lodged them in his country house at Tiruvengadapuram near Pondichery The purpose of the visit was to get Bommarazu Zamindar into the favour of Dupleix through Ananda Rangam Pillai. The full story need not be repeated here It is enough for us to know that the temple heirarchy considered it expedient to be friendly with Dupleix as he was the rising man who might one day take over the management of the temple from the hands of the then Nawab The Zamindar of Bommarazupalaiyam was the spiritual disciple of one family of the first acharyapurushas of Tirupati and Ananda-rangam Pillai was the disciple of another branch (his acharya's name being Singarachariar) Srinivasachari who was one of the envoys was the son-in-law of Singarachariar The Bankers Bukkanjis were the bankers of the Tirumalai temple and also of the Nawab of Arcot. So one of their men Hari Sankar Tarvadi went as if casually to visit Ananda-rangam Pillai after visiting Tirumalai And Mr. Pillai sent his Siddhavaidya Pandaram to see the

Bommarazu Zamindar and administer medicine for his ailment. These were not mere courtesy visits.

Consequent on the death of Asaf Jah (the Nizam) Nazir Jung his son and Muzaffar Jung his grandson both claimed the Subhanship of the Deccan. For the Nawabship of Arcot, after the death of Anwar uddin in the battle at Ambur on 21st July 1749 Muhammad Ali and Chanda Sahib were the contestants. Nazir Jung and Muhammad Ali joined hands and were supported by the English. Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahib joined hands and gained the support of the French. The war centred round Chengi and Trichinopoly. The French were meeting with more success. Muhammad Ali whom the English were supporting was closely besieged in Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib in 1751 and the English were unable to relieve him. At this critical moment the genius of Robert Clive saved the situation. With a view to draw Chanda Sahib away from Trichinopoly Clive marched with a small force of 200 Europeans and 300 Indian sepoys and seized Arcot. He successfully and gallantly defended it against Rajah Sahib (son of Chanda Sahib) who invested the place.

Tirumalai Temple Income goes to succour Robert Clive.

It is in this connection that Tirupati figures. Captain Clive was despatched to Arcot in the expectation that Nawab Mahmmad Ali's agents at Tirupati would send him money from the collections made in the temple and that although about two

TEMPLE MONEY SENT TO HELP THE ENGLISH

lakhs of rupees had been collected nothing was handed over to Divan Sampat Rao who had the orders to send the money¹ *Clive stood blockaded and wrote to the Deputy President of the Council (F S G.) that he would be unable to act unless the money was sent expeditiously Delay would be giving time to the enemy to gather strength* The Zamindar of Bommarazupalaiyam who had undertaken to send 1000 peons of his to see that the money was conveyed safely, pleaded that as he was being threatened by Chunda Sahib he could not do so Finding that the Zamindar could not be relied on the English sent their own men Sampat Rao handed over Rs. 32500 and Pagodas 5000 He said that the remaining amount could be realised as soon as it is known that Muhammad Ali's affairs are taking a better turn. In that year the collection is said to have amounted to fifty thousand pagodas and that Bukkanji's shroffs were ready to receive the collections and send bills for payment to the English The amount is inclusive of the collection from lands farmed out for cultivation. This is clear from the letter dated Monday 9th December 1751. which also stated that Nawab Mahammad Ali's men collected all the moneys and that Chunda Sahib never had to the value of one rupee Again on 20th December 1751 the English wrote ' though the Tirupati money has been collected by your people yet the best part of it is not paid which Sampat Rao must know of."

¹ (Diary and Consult F S G dated Wednesday 12th November 1751)

To those who fully believe that the hand of Providence guides and shapes the destinies of men and nations it would be clear that it was His Will that brought success to the English in the person of Robert Clive. From this year (1751) onwards there are records to show what amounts were collected every year the agency employed for doing it and how eventually the management of the Temple and its lands was handed over by the Nawab of Arcot to the English. The large collections made annually lured the French to aspire mastery over the temple. In this connection Anandarangam Pillai's statement in his Diary that the renter Srinivasachari absconded without paying the Kists due and that one Vasudevachari was appointed in his stead as the renter for three years from 1750-51 on condition of paying one lakh of pagodas towards outstanding dues and 47 000 pagodas every year had not taken all facts into consideration. But Vasudevachari did not actually enter into a contract. The political conditions at the time were such that Srinivasachari could not have been sure whether Chanda Saheb would be the Nawab of Arcot or whether Mahammad Ali would continue. The best course for him was to procrastinate payment. *Vasudevachari seems to have served as a screen.* Srinivasachari seems however to have continuously been the renter so far as the temple was concerned. There is an entry¹ on 3rd January 1752 which states that Shanavas Archaloe had promised to pay the remainder of the Tripetty money to Boeoonjre cosidoos. The excuse which the renter

1 F. S. G. Diary and Consultations.

ACCOUNT OF TEMPLE COLLECTIONS

pleaded for the delay was due to the removal of Buccanji's people to a place "Vencatygary" on account of the troubles in the country By *Nov 6, 1752 the President* acquainted the Board of Directors that he had received bills from Tirupati to the amount of Rupees 41,250 and Pagodas 10,000 which was carried to the credit of the Nabob, Mahammad Ally Khan The revenues came to be assigned in due course to the English who punctually and vigourously collected every rupee received in the temple They were received in three principal instalment known as the September, December and June kist (Brahmotsavam, Mukkotu and Anivarai Asthanam)

Years.	Collections received	
	in Pagodas.	in Rupees
1753—54	56,432	92,000
1754—55	59,124	58,841
1755—56	52,665	53,235
1756—57	45,296	51,240
1757—58	45,245.	50,866

On October 27, 1755 Mr Pigot reported to the Select Committee F. S. G. that capt Polier had escorted with his troops the Nawab to Arcot where he made a splendid entry The Arcot poligars were subdued by Kilpatrick Bangaru Yachama Naik settled for 1,40,000 rupees and Bommarazu for Rs. 2,37,000 a year.

The despatch from the Select Committee at Madras to the Secret Committee at F.S.G states —

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

"Nov 20, 1756 The Nawab has again assigned to the Company for the current year 8 lakhs of rupees from the Arcot country Bommarazu-palayam poligar paid 7994 Pallipnt pagodas and will pay Rs. 70 000 more in four months time. The Tirupati renter paid regularly in 3 instalments yearly rent of 45 000 Sadut-ulla Khan Pagoda (4 or 5% better than current pagoda) and 52 000 North Arcot rupees."

There is an entry dated October 13 1757 the Superiority of the French forces compelled the English to recall the troops from Conjeevaram to Madras and to order back Polier who was marching north to protect Tirupati from Nazib-ulla-khan Information obtained from some subsequent entries is given below November 10, 1757 —The Nabob's debt on April 1756 stood at 13, 71, 906 pagodas by June 30 last it had fallen to 11 91 324 pagodas this was rendered possible by his paying his assignment in full, *the full receipt of* Tirupati rents and the mortgaged countries of October 2-15-1758 The Tripetty rent has been regularly paid, the principal collection is now beginning and it is hoped will not be interrupted by the French Post Script to the above says. The French have occupied Arcot, Tripetty and Conjeevaram

A letter from Mr Pigot to the company dated July 28 1759 while estimating revenues of various provinces etc., says ' Other revenues are

1 Dodwell's statement of this referred to on p. 515 both of Dr. K. Iyyengar's History of Tirupati is from this source.

NAWAB'S ARRANGEMENTS FOR REMITTANCE

reckoned as follows; *Tripatty*, 2,50,000 *Tripassore*, 2,00 000; *Conjeevaram* 1,50,000 "

It is therefore a safe assumption to say that the English Company was getting annually about 2½ lakhs of rupees from the Tripetty temple and the lands attached to it

Note :—Dr S. K Ayyangar's version found on p 519, Vol II of his history of Tirupati, is that Madam Dupleix sent one Rajagopala Pandit ousting Vasudevachari to be Amuldar of Tirupati about the end of the year 1751. The Diary & Consult-book of the F.S.G. however goes to show that throughout the year 1751 Sampat Rao the Diwan of the Nabob was collecting and remitting the revenue of the temple to the F.S.G. to keep Robert Clive's forces actively engaged.

From the entries of the diary dated 3 January 11th, 24th, February and 23rd March it is seen that Srinivasachari was the renter for the year 1751-52 and that he continued to be the renter in 1753 also. The lease was being renewed every year. In 1751 the English complained that there was negligence on the part of Diwan Sampat Rao in taking steps to have the Tripetty collections sent to the Governor of F.S.G. punctually by means of Sowcar's Bills. The Nabob thereupon sent special instructions to Sampat Rao to pay personal attention to the matter since it affected the safety of his country. Money used to be collected by one Abdul Bob Khan a relative of the Nabob stationed at Chandragiri. The

English Governor wrote to him on August 13, 1753 "You tell me that you 'will order your people to send the Tripatty money, May I not with reason ask you how you could order than to receive it how often do you call me your Brother and tell me the Nabob owes his welfare to my assistance Abdul Bob Khan's reply to this dated 7th September 1753 reads I am extremely pleased to receive your letter wherein you was pleased to desire me to send the Tripatty money In July 1753 Abdul Bob Khan had intercepted 50 000 rupees and the Nabob had to write a severe letter on 31st July 1753 to Bob Khan to see that his men did not collect any money from the renter but that the latter should be allowed to hand over to Diwan Sampat Rao who would settle all accounts Bob Khan threw the blame on one Yekias Khan The lease for the year 1753-54 was actually given to Srinivasachari about the middle of September 1753 and at the request of Sampat Rao the English sent a detachment of some Europeans and Sepoys They also wrote to Kumara Yāchama Naik Damarla Venkatappa and Guruvaraz to assist the renter in collecting the money during the approaching annual festival Srinivasachary was asked to pay the full amount of the collection to the English Srinivasachary reached Tirupati on the 6th day of the festival In the meantime Mahamad Kamal an adventurer from Nellore turned up to capture the temple and appropriate the income Nazeb ulla Captz Hott and Damarla Venkatappa engaged him in battle on the plains

RENTER SRINIVASACHARI'S ARREST ON SUSPICION

of Tirupati and cut off his head on 2nd October 1753. Srinivasachari complained that Mahamad Kamal had collected already 13049 pagodas and another Esarar Khan had received Rs. 60,000/-. He therefore requested the English to write to Anwarde Khan and excuse the renter from paying Rs 50,000 to the Nabob which amount represented also charitable gifts made by the pilgrims to the renter. This latter is of interest to us. These charitable gifts really represent collections made from the Tirukkaivalakkan and Tirumun kanikkai amounts which in former times used to be paid to the Sthanattar and which in later times were given to the Nabob and the renter on the occasion of the numerous festivals, etc., celebrated by the pilgrims.

Nazibullah and Bob Khan however complained that the real income for the year was very large and that the renter was duping the English. Thereupon the English guards at Tirupati seized the renter on 18th December 1753 and carried him to Madras whereon the Governor had all the accounts audited by Diwan Sampat Rao in Kanchipuram. The accounts were settled and he was permitted to go back to Tripatty which he did on 9th May 1754 after paying star pagodas 35383 and odd to the company in settlement of all dues to the end of December 1753. In September 1754 the Nabob formally assigned in full the rents of the Tirupati Pergana to the English. Srinivasachary was again confirmed in September 1754 as renter for the following year and one Krishnaji Pant was appointed

and joined on 23-8-54 as¹ Tahsildar to assist him. On 28th July 1755 Srinivasachari reported to the English that the army of the Nabob of Ouddapah with a Maratta named Narasinga Rao was camping near Avedula sanna Canama with a view to capturing Tripatty at the time of the September festival. But actually there was no disturbance caused. In July 1757 the Tahasildar, the renter and Damarla Venkatapathy wrote to the Governor of Madras that Nazibullah Khan had written to Venkatapathy that he was the Deputy of the Moghull and that he would be marching to take possession of Tripatty and settle the revenues of Tripatty Kalahasti & Venkatagiri. The Nabob of Arcot also wrote on 22nd July 1757 that Nazibullah had been induced by the French at Wandiwash to join them and to proceed against Tripatty. He wanted the English to send some Europeans and sepoys to Tripatty. In the meantime Balvant Rao the Maratta commander informed the renter that he would be going to the Hills with an army of 2000 horse to worship the God on 13th August 1757. The Governor wrote to him you are sensible, that the place has been under the care and management of the English for some years past and not to cause any disturbance considering the friendship between him and the English. But Kerredy Khan wrote to the Nabob that Balvant Rao, intended to take

1 On p 522 and 523 of History Vol. II Dr K Ayyangar speaks of Nazibulla marching on Tirupattin in 1755. But neither Srinivasachari nor the company's diary mentions the incident. Srinivasachari was the renter

FRENCH ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE TIRUPATI

possession of the place. The sepoys sent by the Company arrived in Tripatty on 30-7-57. Balvant Rao who came on 12th August with 3000 Horse, was met by the renter at a distance of 4 crosus (8 miles) from Tripatty where the army was left and Balvant Rao went alone to the Mount and paid his devotion to God and then marched with his army to the Canama. But in fact, an attempt to capture Tripatty was made by Nazibullah who according to Srinivasachari's report to the Governor of Madras was camping on 26-8-1757 at Cadwar (perhaps Kodur) after capturing the fort there. On 29th August an army of Europeans and sepoys was despatched to Naidupet to join there Damarla Venkatapathy and Bangaru Yachama Naik and to oppose Nazibullah. Nazibullah is said to have coaxed the renter to join him, but in vain. Perhaps no attack was actually made on Tripatty¹. From the beginning of 1758 however real danger was apprehended. Abdul Bob Khan entered Chandra-giri with 1000 horses, 1000 sepoys and 5000 peons on 28th January. Acting on the complaint made by the renter the Governor of Madras wrote to Bob Khan to desist from doing any harmful act. Balvant Rao and Amrita Rao were molesting Damarla Venkatapathy and the other Zamindars and Poli-

1 We are told in the Madras Despatches (p. 126) from the Select Committee to the Secret Committee dated *October 13, 1757*, that the superiority of the French forces compelled the English to recall their troops from Conjeevaram to Madras and to *order back Polier who was marching north to protect Tripatty from Nazibullah Khan*

gars for payment of more than the legitimate 'chanth amount. The renter wrote that Balvant Rao had occupied the Siddhant Fort and that Abdnl Hamid Khan had handed over to his Diwan Vasaji Pant the Gurramkonda Fort with half the country. The Diwan also intimated to the renter that he would go to Tripatty with 4000 horses in five or six days to pay his devotion to God. Abdnl Bob Khan was in correspondence with the Marattas and residing in Chandragiri. So mischief was suspected. Bangaru Yachama Naik complained that the Marattas were insolent and obstinate and that they protect the Zamindars who were friendly to the French but molest those who were friends of the English. Meanwhile Amrita Rao the Maratta died in Tirupattur while fighting on the side of the English. There were also two other individuals viz, Balakrishna Sastri and Raghavachari, who on the alleged authority of a Sannad granted by Balaji Rao came to demand the 'Chanth in the Carnata country. They approached Balvant Rao for help but he declined on the plea that the people of Arcot were his friends. At the end of March 1758 after waiting for a while at cumbum and Cacarla they came via Settigunta and Karakambady with the help of the Matlavara Raja to capture Tripatty. In a battle fought on the plains to the east of Tripatty Raghavachari was killed by Srinivasachari the renter on 5th May. Abdul Bob Khan who was then in Chandragiri did not go to the help of the renter although approached. On the other

THE FRENCH CAPTURE TIRUPATI IN OCT. 1758

hand he had applied to the French for assistance being given to him by sending troops to Chandragiri. It was also reported by the renter to the Governor of Madras that Monsr. Bussy jointly with the chief of Matcholipatam had crossed the Kistna and was camping with his army on the other side of the Pennar at Nellore. He requested that English troops might be sent to intercept him at Naidupet. Damarla Venkatappa wrote another letter that Balaji Rao had written to him to seize Tipatty and Chandragiri Fort. The attempt was to see that the temple and Chandragiri Fort were surrendered to Balakrishna Sastri and 2,000 Maratta horse had already arrived at Rayaachoti and more were coming. Monsr. Bussy also sent letters to all Zamindars. Jaffar Hussain Khan and the Chittoor Zamindars enlisted troops. On 3rd September 1758 it was learnt that Bussy was on his way and that Nazibullah Khan was coming with him 'via Kalahasti to join Abdul Bob Khan at Chandragiri. The renter warned the Governor of Madras against the evil consequences of Bussy's taking possession of the Pergana and wanted that troops should be sent to intercept the army. The Governor wrote back that the Poligars must be persuaded to resist and that this should be sufficient for the occasion. Balaji Rao however wrote to Damarla Venkatappa through his general Gopal Hari that his design was to join Venkatappa and act against the French. There was also the false belief that Jaffar Hussain and Abdul Wahab who were kinsmen of the Nabob

would not join the French : On the 7th October 1758 the Tahsildar informed the Governor that the French with the help of the chief of Machelipatam Nazeabulla Khan of Nellore and Abdul Wahab Khan of Chandragiri having entered into a confederacy took possession of the Tripatty Pergana. Abdul Wahab fixed his standard and employed his people to maintain security. But the French demanded that Abdul Wahab should first furnish security and rent the Pergana. He was unable to comply and Srinivasachari was sent for and the Pergana was rented to him after obtaining security for the first feast kist and Seerapaw and Sanad given. This was on the 7th October 1758 which was the fifth day of the Brahmotsavam. The Tahsildar wrote to the Madras Governor to send troops and recapture the temple and the Pergana. The Governor found fault with Srinivasachari for betraying his masters. But Damarla Venkatappa replied that he used his discretion wisely so that the Pergana did not pass into the hands of Abdul Wahab. It may be stated here that when the French entered Tripatty on 5th October the company's troops dispersed and went via Rayalcheruvu to Madras. On the 16th October Nazibullah and the French Chief went to Chandragiri. The Governor found fault with Bangaru Yachama Naik and Damarla Venkatappa for having allowed the small French force to pass through their territory without any attempt to prevent the entry. He wanted them to show better fidelity to the Nabob.

CAPTURE OF TIRUPATI BY THE FRENCH

and the English. He indicated that further action would be taken after the rainy season was over. The sanad of Srinivasachari was given by the Chief of Matchelipatam. Abdul Bob Khan obtained in the name of his son the Tahsildari of Tripatty. Srinivasachari was not agreeable to this and found his affairs in confusion. The capture of Tripatty by the French was not an unexpected event. The despatch from the Select Committee to the Secret Committee of F.S.G. dated Oct. 2nd and Oct. 5th 1758 reads, "The Tripatty rent has been regularly paid, the principal collection is now beginning and *it is hoped will not be interrupted by the French*" The post script says that "*the French have occupied Arcot Tripatty and Cenjeevaram.*"

The Diary and Consultation-Book and the Country correspondence after 1758 do not yet appear to have been printed by the Government yet. A reliable history relating to the further period cannot therefore be written until they are available. It is however seen from a report made by Pigot to the English at (F.S.G.) dated April 8, 1762 that after the surrender of Vellore by the French the English army marched to the Nellore country. Nazibullah-khan, Killadar of Nellore was attacked, and he took refuge with the Poligar of Udayagiri who, out of fear delivered him up. Bangaru Yachama Naik, Poligar of Venkatagiri compromised for 2½ lakhs rupees, Damarla Venkatapati Naik, Poligar of Kalahasti made peace for 1½ lakhs and Bommarazu settled in a few days. Tirupati was thus rendered safe.

and secure for the English. It continued to be the sure and unfailing source of income for them even till September, 1800, as we have seen from Lord Clive's letter to the Nawab of Arcot in connection with the arrangements to be made for the pilgrimage of Raja Raghottama Rao to Tirupati although the temple along with the pergana of Tripatty was nominally the property of the Nawab of Arcot. The revenues stood assigned to the English. In 1801 the East India Company dispossessed the Nawab and assumed the administration. Vigorous steps were then taken to look into the internal administration of the temple. The religious and the secular office holders of the temple were examined. The details of these are contained in what is known as the Savāl Javāb-patti, that is register of questions and answers. The duties of all the parties were set down in what is known as the Kamkaryapatti (register of services to be rendered). Then a set of rules known as the Bruce's code (from the name of the civilian officer who drew it up) was drawn up and approved by the District Collector on 25th July 1821. It was meant to regulate all the usual affairs of the temple. It does not however appear to have been sanctioned by the Government by a formal Government Order after due consideration by the Governor in Council. These were however the registers consulted by the executive authorities in all cases of doubt and acted upon. But they could be and were challenged by the affected parties in law courts. For purposes of history this was the first time and the an attempt

RESUMPTION OF LANDS AND TASTIK GRANT

to set the affairs of the Temple on a logical basis. All the events that take place from day to day during the 365 days of a year are recorded by the Parapatyadar in the day book called Amulnāma. This is meant to ensure that ancient usages are duly adhered to and that no innovations creep in by the back door. The power which the Parapatyadar possesses may be misused to record innovations continuously, thus giving the innovations in course of time the colour of ancient usage. This may well be compared to the power which the Kanugoes wielded with the Nabobs in the matter of effecting alterations in land registers to favour or injure a land owner or Jageerdar. For, what the Parapatyadar writes in the day book is known at the time only to him. Twenty or fifty years later it may be summoned in a law court and be considered valid evidence.

The motive for resumption of temple lands and the grant of tasdik allowances.

The immediate result of the administration passing into the hands of the English Company was the resumption of all temple lands all over the country as a matter of determined policy. The motive appears to have been to ruin all Hindu temples and to destroy once for all the influence of the Brahmins in this country. There was probably some reason for this hatred against the brahmin. The brahmins of those days considered the European to be a mlēchcha. If he had to converse with a mlēchcha the sacred thread which he wears should be shifted from the Upavita to the Nivita posture.

After the interview he should, even if he does not take a bath, wash his hands and feet, then shift the sacred thread back to the *npavita* posture and then do *āhamaname* (sipping water uttering the prescribed *mantram*) It is also on record that the *Acharyapurushas* declined to meet the District Collector in his *cutchery* when under instructions from the Government he wanted in 1841 to investigate the possibility of forming them into a committee to whom the management of the *Devasthanam* could be handed over They preferred to see that the District Collector meets them at the temple gate. The District Collector keenly felt the insult.

It is worth referring here to the extract from the article of the *Asiatic quarterly* which is added as Appendix I to Vol I of this book The repetition here of extracts therefrom may be excused — ‘The annual nett proceeds from this source is about eighty-seven thousand rupees. In 1822-23 the collections were one lakh forty two thousand and odd but this is exclusive of expenses wherewith twenty thousand may be deducted In 1820-21 or *fash* 1230 the collections were 1 02 000

You may perhaps start at such organised system of religious, or rather you will say profane, plunder on the part of the Government but such, strange as it may appear is far from the case. Those who without just reflection join the spiritless cry against our government are rejoiced in soul to start such a topic as this as an admirable specimen of what, with other things should draw down ven

REASON FOR RESUMPTION OF TEMPLE LANDS

geance of heaven on us. The fact is this: we find that the resources of the pagoda were legitimately enjoyed by musalman government, for services earned with blood and pressure, and that at the risk of losing our trade on the coromandel coast One of the first rewards, or rather poor payment, was this revenue, and it has been paid unremittingly ever since. We found the allowing the temple to support itself upon its own funds lead to the grossest imposition upon settlement of kists, more than that the only cultivation in that part of the country was in the hands of Brahmms who cannot legally touch a plough; and therefore all other castes of riots were virtually their slaves; and it was absurd for them to dream of holding lands when embraced competition with Vishnu's Brahmin's, under the very nose of the sacred Hill; the consequence was, the priests had it all their own way, labour was drawn towards their district to the comparative impoverishment of the surrounding ones, and such was found to be the case all over the presidency. Every village pagoda was the petty oppressor of its range, and the influence only stopped when the effects of a neighbouring one interfered with it. It was a strange but determined piece of policy when throughout the country the pagoda lands were resumed by the company and tustik allowances granted in their place: the lands passed into other hands and the riches solely grasped by the brahmin are diffused amongst the real cultivators of the soil and the coffers of the state replenished by the new

stimulus thus offered to every branch of native manufacture. Our tenure of the country was then very precarious and while as to the Hindu he has fought and will fight again perhaps sooner, than we think of and the experience of ages tells us what religious enthusiasm or fanaticism—or call it what you will—will do when wrought up to despair. What did we? Why we secured them in the exercise of their religion—tolerated it—we never encouraged it. We could not if we would. Now let us contemplate the result of this plan. From one end of the country to the other pagodas are ruined, unmaintained. Bramins are in trade serving in the army and generally learning that even to them begging is no livelihood. The oppressive hand of the bramin was removed from the neck of the people and the influence they once had will never again be felt to a similar extent. The revenues of Tripatty are on a gradual decline and will die in the lapse of years a natural death. Some of the most celebrated temples in the country are worse off. But there are still, alas, many more strongholds of the devil.

We doubt whether the above extract really reveals the real motives of the East India Company for the resumption of temple lands. The impious wish of the writer of that article stands unfulfilled and will it is hoped for ever stand unfulfilled. The Tirupati revenues have been increasing marvellously not from lands but by *kanukas* from the willing hands of the votaries of all classes and sects. The oppressive hand of the old type Britisher has been

THE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

removed from the neck of the Indian people and God willing Hinduism will thrive. The Hindu and the Britisher will live as honest and well intentioned friends. Not only have the revenues of the Devasthanam mounted to thirty-five lakhs of rupees a year, the administration of its funds is in the hands of a devout and enlightened Board of Trustees and an Executive Officer subject to control by a popular Government having a minister for controlling Hindu Religious Institutions. Its funds are utilised for various philanthropic and charitable purposes. It would look like flattery if names are singled out for apportioning credit. The temple will do well to maintain a roll of honour.

The writer of that article gave the gross income of the Tirumalai temple as Rs 1,47,000 for 1822 and Rs 1,02,000 for 1820 A.D. The expenditure for the temple he has shown to be about Rs 20,000. He has not stated what the *tastik* amount was which the Government gave in place of the resumed lands, whether it was in cash or in the shape of provisions shown in the *moyne Japtha paditharam* of *fasli* 1227 brought into force from 1819 A.D. There is available to us the *Devasthanam Tasdik Book* for ten years from *Fasli* 1233-34 to 1242-43 which gives an abstract of the sources and amount of income from each source, the total income and also the charges incurred under certain classified heads of account. As a sample the one relating to the year 1233-34 is attached hereto. This detailed statement (of the sources of income and the items of expenditure) shows

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

that the income was made up of (a) Fasaki and other miscellaneous items (b) Kanukas and Arjitams (c) income through Dharmakartas for certain services (d) cash from oircar. The last named item (d) would represent the cash payment made by the Government in place of the income from lands which were resumed. The expenditure side was made up of (e) Horavetsam, or daily ration of rice to certain persons (f) expenditure on Devasthanam religious services (g) oircar establishment (h) income from inam lands in the enjoyment of sibbandhis (i) establishment maintained by Dharmakartas (j) payments to mirasdars (k) amount paid to other minor dependent temples. There are nineteen temples classed therein as major ones and eighteen classed as minor. The temple of Sri Venkateswara alone will be considered here as the others are really of little importance and have not been dependent on the former. Every other temple had its own sources of income which therefore limited its expenditure to suit its finances. We are concerned with the total income the oircar contribution in cash, kannkas and arjitams and the collections made by Dharmakartas. The Fasaki income has been a fairly constant amount ranging between Rs. 31 650 and Rs. 31 780. The contribution made by the oircar should have been a fixed amount but it is found to vary from year to year, probably due to the fluctuation in the price of commodities. But the quantities shown in the paditharam would have been fixed once for all. Kannkas and Arjitams would naturally vary from year to year.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

RECEIPTS

Years.	Circar contri- bution.	Kanukas, etc	Dharmakast.	Total receipts.	Nett income and circar
1823-24	31,763	95,557	17,999	1,77,024	95,548
1824-25	34,972	1,46,356	14,933	2,27,976	1,46,357
1825-26	31,427	1,07,785	13,007	1,83,933	1,07,785
1826-27	24,511	1,24,138	11,907	1,92,258	1,24,114
1828-29	25,184	1,25,827	11,089	1,93,888	1,25,828
1829-30	25,403	1,18,246	11,124	1,87,504	1,18,247
1830-31	25,360	1,17,447	13,029	1,90,567	1,17,448
1831-32	28,262	1,18,361	13,050	1,91,371	1,18,361
1832-33	27,140	72,614	10,330	1,41,863	72,515
1833-34 ...	31,210	59,468	14,672	1,37,021	55,468

Under expenditure horavetsam, inam lands to udigamdars (about 31500 Rupees), establishment charges by circar (varies from 4400 to 5000) establishment charges met by Dharmakartas (varies from Rs. 5500 to Rs 6800) The expenditure incurred for the temple worship alone need be considered as compared to the total expenditure It will be seen that the Circar contribution is less than the actual expenditure on temple worship

Years.		Temple expenditure	Total expenditure.
1823—24	...	37,848	81,476
1824—25	...	39,872	81,619
1825—26		34,358	76,148
1826—27	.	25,~49	68,144

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Years.	Temple expenditure	Total expenditure.
1827—28	25,781	68 060
1828—29	26,884	69,257
1829—30	30 178	73 119
1830—31	30 199	73 010
1831—32	27 027	69 249
1832—33	34,662	71,553

It is observed that there is an item of expenditure called 'Payable to other Devasthanams'. It means that, that particular temple was paying a certain amount to one or more other temples for services rendered by the latter. There is only one temple of this kind viz. Sri Kothanda Ramaswami temple in Tirupati which was paying Rs. 60 a year probably to the Govindarajaswami temple to cover the expenses incurred for the latter Deity to visit the former on certain days of its festival. This practice has been commented upon in Chapters X and XI. Similarly the hereditary office holders of the Tirumalai temple do some service to the other temples for which they were being remunerated. These are shown under items (1^o) of the headings. Dharmakartas of certain endowment services had to maintain an establishment at their cost. These come under item (11).

Some of the temples though classed as major ones had no income from Kanukas, Arjltams and Dharmakartas. They depended entirely on the tasdik amount which the circar gave and their

MINOR TEMPLES

expenditure was limited to that amount. (Examples are Kapilesvara Swami, Hanumantaraya, Sanjeevaraya, etc.) The expenditure on all these temples have mounted up enormously, Kapilesvaraswami temple enjoys more than fifty times the Circar tasdik. The Mahants after they became Vicharanakarta in succession to the East India company failed to claim the tasdik amounts from the Government, or failed to credit these amounts to the account of each temple. This statement is subject to verification and correction. It is not known whether all or which of the horavetsams are still being continued as there is no voluntary agency making collections from shopkeepers etc

Minor Temples.

The East India Company took over for management eighteen minor temples in addition to nineteen major ones given in the statement. It is unnecessary to show the minor ones in the forms of a Statement showing annual receipts and expenditure. None of these temples was maintained by the Tirumalai or the Tirupati temple, each had its independent finance. Even the East India Company did not pay any tasdik amount for these, except for the Uttaramutt Sanjivarayaswami temple which received $6\frac{25}{64}$ pagodas (=Rs 22—6—0) for its upkeep. It had no other income. Temples which derived income from shop rents, weaving tax, and kanukas are Sri Varahaswami temple, Bhashinga Narasimhaswami, Alipini Narasimhaswami, Lakshminarayanaswami in Alvar Tirtham, and Bedi Hanumantarayaswami.

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Varahaswami temple had also income from its Dharmakartas (the archakas) So also Nathamuni temple The temple of Sri Lakshminarayana Swami in G South mada street, Tirupati had inam lands which yielded about Rs 402 including meras but excluding jodi The following five temples shown in the list were not handed over to the Mahant in 1843 for maintenance Sri Krishnaswami in Buggamutt, Sanjivarayaswami near Ragha vendrachars house Agastyeswaraswami on the bank of Ramachandra Gunta Tirukkachohinambi, Tatayya Gunta Gangamma

Minor Temples.	Income and expenditure
	Rs
1 Tirumalai Sri Varaha swami	229 (Kanukas and dharmakarta)
2. Bhashinga Narasimha swami	105 (Kanukas)
3 Alipiri Narasimha swami	105
4 Lakshminarayana swami near Alvar Tir tham	2 ,
5 Venugopalaswami near Alvar Tirtham	2
6 Sri Lakshminarayana swami G S Mada St Tirupati	402 (Inam lands)
7 Bedi Hanumantaraya swami	52 (Kanukas)

MINOR TEMPLES

Minor Temples.	Income and expenditure
8. Sanjivaraya svami, Alvār Tirtham ...	2 „
9. Sanjivaraya svami, (Govindaraja temple) ...	- „
10. Sanjivaraya svami, (Ramasvami temple) .	- „
11. Nathamuni ...	74 Through dharmakai- tas
12. Nammalvar (Alvar Tir- tham) ...	7 From Kanu- kas
13. Uttamadimutt Sanjiva- rayasvami .	23 Cūcar tasdik
14. Sri Krishnasvami in Seetaladas mutt (Bugga mutt)	
15. Sanjivarayasvami near Raghavendrachar's house	
16. Agasthyesvarasvami on the bank of Rama- chandra Gunta.	
17. Tirukkachchinambi in Beri Street	
18. Tatayya Gunta, Tallapakkam Gunta Gan- gamma	

None of the temples, whether classed as Major or minor, had a claim on the funds of the Tirumalai temple. Every temple was made to be self maintaining. This principle was broken by the Mahants and their successors have been construing that all the constituent temples have to be maintained by the Tirumalai temple, on a scale which the Trustees consider as equitable or desirable.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ALWARS PRABANDHAMS AND THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE.

The Prabandhams of the Alvars are the Bhakti songs of those Tamil saints collected together. The appropriateness of devoting a chapter therefor has to be explained to readers who are unacquainted with the liturgy of Sri Vaishnava temples. The most noticeable feature of such temples is the unfailing recitation of verses from these works at certain stages of the daily worship as a necessary adjunct or complement to the vedic rituals although logically there is no place for such recitation.

Who the Ālvārs are, why and how their songs came to be recited in temples where the form of worship is conducted according to āgama rituals are matters which require elucidation. This association of the Prabandham with Sri Vaishnava temples assumed peculiarly demonstrative forms in the shape of festivals. In Tirumalai and Tirupati the start was made much later than in the temples of the south where the Tamil language was more prevalent. The stages by which and the manner in which this recitation and the festivals connected therewith became a permanent feature in these two temples could with some accuracy be traced from the inscriptions in the temples.

THE PRABANDHAMS

The Prabandhams are also of paramount historical interest to us as they alone furnish the materials for forming a correct picture relating to the accepted sanctity of the Vengadam Hill and the ancient belief that Srīman Narayana manifested Himself on this Hill in His Archa (image) form for affording to mortals and immortals alike facilities to worship Him on a footing of perfect equality. It must be remembered in this connection that these Alvars—the earliear ālvārs decidedly flourished in centuries before Srī Sankaracharya and his Philosophy of Advaitam came to be known. (Srī Sankaracharyas life period is said to be from 737-769). The only religious sects known to the Alvars were Vaishnavism, Saivism (Lingam worship), Buddhism and Jainism. All the Ālvārs have unequivocally declared that Vengadam Hill is sacred to Vishnu who has manifested Himself there. We learn from their songs the condition of the Hill with its dense forests, its wild animals (elephants, panthers, monkeys, lions, and pythons), its rivulets and flowering plants and the kuravars or primitive huntsmen whose main occupation was capturing and taming the elephants. That the Dhruva Murti was standing without a walled structure around and that in later times a wooden structure was built are also vividly described.

The subject will therefore be dealt with in three sections. In the first section an over-all picture of the ālvārs, their Bhakti songs, how they came to be known to the world and the spiritual and social

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

equality of all Hindus deputed therein will be given. In the second section the stages by which the recitation of these songs acquired a permanent place in the temple liturgy will be traced. In the third section the early history of the temple will be set out as is disclosed in the ālvārs songs treating the Murti as the form of Vishnu as pictured by every alvar.

SECTION I.

TEMPLES AND THE PRABANDHAMS OF THE ALVARS.

The Alvars and how their works were given publicity

In chapter III a brief reference was made to the religious rivalries in South India which resulted in the upsurge of the Vaishnavite Ālvārs. Vishnu worship in temples and in homes was however more ancient perhaps than even the āgama form which was discussed at length in Chapter XII. It was surmised therein that the āgamas would appear to have been composed in that part of India which lies to the North of the Vindhya mountains and brought into use in South India at some later date. The form of āgama worship is bound up with Sanskrit texts and Vedic Riks and gives no room for the intrusion of verses, songs or other forms of praise of the Deity in any other language. The only exception which perhaps was made in later times was that at a certain stage of the rituals in connection with the celebration of the Brahmotsavam open invitation is permitted to be made in

THE PRABANDHAMS IN THE TEMPLE

the local languages along with the ritualist one in Sanskrit to all created beings in the universe to attend the festival and enjoy the hospitality. We however see in the present day form of worship that the recitation of portions of the Tamil Prabandham of the Ālvars is a prominent feature of daily worship and of festival processions.

When, how and why this was brought about, what are the portions of the Prabandham so recited daily and those pieces which sometimes stir the smouldering fire of sectarian controversy and hatred will be stated in this Chapter. The narrative will inevitably be mixed up with traditions which are implicitly believed in and are considered as absolute truths. Even the stages by which the songs of the Ālvars were recovered from the oblivion into which they had gone for some time and came to be recited in temples after overcoming the objections raised by the other worshippers of Vishnu (who however were not followers of the tenets of Śrī Nammalvar) are matters of tradition. The inscriptions on the stone walls of the Tirumalai and Tirupati temples however help us to trace with some degree of accuracy the stages by which the recital of all the four thousand verses of the Prabandham on a footing of equality with the recitation of the Vedas during the annual festival known as the Adhyayanotsavam was effected. So long as the Vedas alone were recited this festival lasted for ten days. But when the Prabandham recital also was tacked on it was extended gradually to twenty two and even

twenty five days (divided into two parts popularly known as Pakalpattu and Rāppattu)

Portions of the Prabandham culled out for daily recitation, called Nityanusandhanam.

In every Vishnu temple where the daily worship is being performed by and primarily for the benefit of Sri Vaishnavas—that is followers of the Visishtadvaita philosophy of Sri Ramanuja—the recitation of these pieces is considered essential and even obligatory. They are wedged in so as to form a part of the liturgy of the temple'. This is where the difference could be seen between the two sects of

1 These are (1) the Tiruppallāṇḍu (తిరుప్పలాండు, తிருప్పలండు) of Periya Alvar (2) the Tiruppallēṭṭuchi (తిరుప్పల్లెత్తుచ్చి, తిరుప్పలలీ టెత్తుచ్చి) of Tondaiarippuḍi Alvar for waking the Deity (3) Niraṭṭam (నిరాట్టమ్ నిరట్టమ్ of Periya Alvar inviting for a bath (4) Poochehottal (పూచ్చెట్టర్ పూచ్చెట్టల) from Periyalvar's Tirumoli for flower decoration (5) Kaṭṭiḍal (కట్టిడర్ కట్టిడల, from the above Tirumoli for invoking protection to the idol under worship during the night from evil spirits and mischief makers. All these are devotional songs. Here are also verses which describe Sri Andal's dream of the Divine marriage called (6) Vāraṁ-māyiram (వారంమాయిరమ్ వారంమాయీరమ్) (7) Tiruppāval (తిరుప్పావై, తిరుప్పలవై) are verses composed by Sri Andal for recitation during the thirty days of the Tamil month of Mārgaḷi and (8) the ten verses composed by Madhura kavi Alvar (మధురకవి ఆల్వార్, మధురకవి శ్లోకావళి) known as Kaṇṇalōṇṇu struttanibu the continued recital of which enabled Sri Nathammul (నాథమూల) to obtain direct from the spirit of Sri Nammalvar the full text of the Tiruvaimoli by word of mouth. Other appropriate selections from Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvaimoli and the Amalanāḍipiran (అమలనాడిపిరాన్ అమల అనాడి పిరాన్) of Tiruppāṇḍavar are also recited.

Vishnu worshippers, the Sri Vaishnavas and the Madhvas. The recitation of the Prabandham verses is not a part of the āgama form of worship. The archaka may be engaged in doing his puja but the Sri Vaishnavas would be reciting the verses.

The recital of these verses does not form a part of the Nityaravana ritual as prescribed in the āgamas, but are recited while the archaka is engaged in his routine work pronouncing the appropriate mantras. The ritualistic work ends with the Nivedyam (food offering) and the Nityotsavam or the offering of Bali prasadam to the large number of attendant deities in the temple.

Soon after the Bali is done Sri Vaishnavas have a function known as the Sāttumurai (சாத்தமூரై எனப்படும்) or the recitation of portions of the Prabandhams in praise of God. This occasion is now-a-days principally availed of for singing the praise of the ācharyas of the particular sect of Sri Vaishnavas (Tengalai or Vadagalai) which has gained the upper hand in a particular temple. There is perhaps no temple where an agreed common formula has been arrived at in this matter. The commencement or prologue is known as Todakkam and Pātram (தொக்கம் and பாத்தம் என்பன). After this the selected portion of the Prabandham which is the same for both the sects, is recited. Then follows a sort of "long live" songs in commemoration of the particular acharyas, known as Vāḷi

Tirunamam (may their names be long remembered) (வாழ்கிறீரெனாமம், வாழ்கிறீரெனாமம்) This last may be called the epilogue. The actual text of the Prabandham which is common to both fades into insignificance when compared to the zeal for the Patram and the Vali Tirunamam. It is not necessary for our history to go into the causes of the controversy which has developed itself into communal wrangle of the worst type.

Prabandham of the Alvars.

The word Prabandham only means the works or compositions (of the alvars). It has come to be accepted that there were only twelve ālvārs (whose names will be given later) and Sri Ramanuja is taken as the thirteenth. They lived at different times and their works were therefore not composed simultaneously. They do not seem to have been called Ālvārs in their own days nor would they have imagined that twelve of them would be deified and formed into a pantheon with Ramanuja as the thirteenth. The distinctive names given to the works of the ālvārs were obviously coined by the ācharyas who ferretted out the works and catalogued the whole for the benefit of posterity. They are mostly devotional songs about different deities in different temples and have therefore been called Tirumoli or sacred songs or words (திருமொழி, திருமொழி).

Thus there are the Tirumoli of Periya Alvar, the Tirumoli of Sri Āndāl called Nachchiār Tirumoli, Kulasekhara ālvārs Tirumoli and Tirumangai

RESUSCITATION OF TIRUVOYMOLI

Ālvār's Tirumoli. These sacred words were probably first written on cadgeon leaves. The sacred words of Sri Nammālvār however has been called Tiruvoymoli (திருவாய்மொழி, திருவாய் மொழி) because it was not written but revealed by word of mouth directly to Sri Nāthamuni by the spirit of Nāmmālvaṛ. In fact Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvoymoli appears to have been the first of the Prabandhams made known to the Tamil world. The works of all the ālvārs had gone into oblivion and Sri Nathamuni resuscitated the Tiruvoymoli first and the others were discovered later by others from time to time.

Resuscitation of the Tiruvoymoli is attributed to Sri Nathamuni.

The date of birth and the life period of the Ālvārs and the date of composition of their works could not be ascertained with certainty. An attempt to fix approximately the period of time when they might have flourished will however be made in due course in this chapter. The dates of recovery from oblivion of the works which make up the Prabandham are also equally uncertain except in the case of Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvoymoli about which there is an accepted tradition.

Srīman Nathamuni was a great Yogi, a great scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil, a Vedantin and musician. He had travelled all over India bathing in all the sacred waters and visiting all the famous sacred places of worship. He finally settled down in what is believed to be his native village of

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namam (may their names be long remembered)
 శ్రీతిరునామమ్, శాస్త్రిశత్రుశంక) This last may be
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ayanapuram in the present South Arcot district. Some devotees of Vishnu who came as pilgrims to his place visited the local shrine and composed some devotional verses in Tamil commencing

தூதராயே! அடியென்கூடலும் சீனபாலையே

சமுத்தே! அடியென்கூடலும் சீனபாலையே ”

stirred by the spirit of the verses Sri Nathamuni desired to hear more of those songs of māmālvar. But although the pilgrims were natives of the birth place of the ālvār they told him only what they first heard and learnt by heart the verses when they went to Tirukkudandai (Kumbakonam) to worship the Deity Arāvamudan where the verses were being daily recited. On going to Tirukkudandai to learn more Nathamuni was told that more than those ten verses were known to them at Tirukkudandai by going over to Tirukkurugur (திருக்குறளூர்).

(திருக்குறளூர்) now called Alvar Tirunagiri—

Nathamuni could have his desire fulfilled by one Parankusa dāsar (a disciple of Madhura ālvār who was the disciple of Sri Nāmmālvar) who told him to repeat the eleven verses of Madhura ālvār's Kaṇṇinun siruttambu twelve thousand times while deeply meditating on Sri Nāmmālvar when the spirit would appear to him. Even that was a tradition and no one had tried it before Nathamuni being a Yogi went through the process and established direct contact with the spirit of Sri Nāmmālvar. The thousand verses of Tiruvaymoli were then revealed to Nathamuni.

SRI NATHAMUNI AND TIRUVOYMOLI

by word of mouth. He being an *Ehasantagrāhi* (one who could remember well what was once heard) mastered the same. It is also believed that the Brahma Sutras, the central truths of all the Upanishads and other sacred scriptures were also revealed to him on that occasion.¹

Sriaman Nathamuni was the first to make known to the Tamil world the greatness of Sri Nammalvar and his Tiruvaymoli in a Sanskrit verse which is invariably recited as a 'Taniyan' or² prefatory verse by all those who commence to recite or study the Tiruvoymoli.

The Taniyan composed in Sanskrit by Sriaman Nathamuni for the recitation and study of Tiruvoy-moli runs thus :—

1 The tradition goes a little further and attributes to Nāthamuni the revival or resuscitation of the recitation of the Tiruvaymoli along with and on a footing of equality with the Vedas during a festival called Adhvanyotsavam held annually in the Tamil month of Mārgaḥ (Mārgasīra). The residents of Tirukkurugur gave him to understand that such annual recitation used to take place during the life time of Tirumangai alvar (the last of the alvas) and that for that purpose the idol of Nammalvar used to be taken over to Srirangam. But that story could hardly be believed by us since Tirumangai alvar did neither ever visit Tirukkurugur nor sing a verse in praise of the Deity there although he visited and sang verses in praise of the Vishnu shrine in Tirukkurungudi (తిరుక్కూరుగూడి) nearby. He has not in any of his songs mentioned the name of Nammalvar. For all we know he was not aware of the greatness of Nammalvar.

2 The greatness of every devotional literature and its worth is invariably summarised in a verse called 'Taniyan' தனியன் தனியன் (in Sanskrit or Tamil) composed by some great scholar and expounder who first sponsored the study of the same or who first rescued the work from oblivion.

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‘ Bhaktamrutam visva janānu mōdanam
Sarvārthadam Sri Sāṭhakopavāṅgmāyam
Sahasra sākḥōpanishad samāgamam
Namāmyaham Drāmida vēda sāgaram ’

This verse gives in a nutshell all that is claimed
the Tiruvoymoli as sacred literature Translated
into English it would read —

‘ My obeisance to those words which came
from the mouth of Sri Sāṭhakopa and which make
the ocean called Drāmida Vēdam wherein are
gathered together in harmonious blending all the
mercurious branches of the Upanishads, which confer
immortality on Bhaktas, which elevate the mind
and gladden the heart of all shades of men and
which makes it possible for men to achieve every
thing imperishable and worth possessing The
expression ‘ Sāṭhakōpa vāṅgmāyam assures us
that the Tiruvoymoli was revealed to Nathamuni
word of mouth by Sri Sāṭhakopa and that
therefore it revealed unreservedly and unequivocally
the whole truth The expression Vēda sāgaram
construed to mean that the other three works’ of

1. “ भक्तमृत विष्वज्जनमोदनं सर्वार्थं धीरुत्थोपाङ्गमयम् ।
सहस्रसाखीपनिषत्समागमं नामागमं द्राविडवेदसागरम् ॥ ”

“ భక్తమృతం విశ్వజ్జనమోదనం సర్వార్థం ధీరుత్థం పాఞ్చమయమ్ ।
సహస్ర సాఖీపనిషత్సమాగమం నామాగమం ద్రావిడవేదసాగరమ్ ”

2. The other three works are Tiruvittaiyam (తిరువితరైయం
త్రైవిక్రమాంశము) which gives the essence of the Rig Veda Tiruvā
lyam (తిరువాళియం ద్విక్రమాంశము) which gives the essence of
the Yajur veda and Periyā Tiruvandādi (పెరియ తిరువందాది, ధ్రువీయ
శ్లోక శాస్త్రము) which is the essence of the Atharva veda.

THE SUPERIORITY OF TIRUVOYMOLI

Sri Nammālvār were also revealed simultaneously. But the *tanians* prefixed to them which were composed by others go to show that they were not revealed to Nathamuni but were discovered by others at a later period. Tiruvoymoli is said to give the essence of the Sama Veda and was therefore set to music in two styles¹ one called the Dēvagānam and the other Manushya gānam. The latter represents the Ragam Tālam etc., now used by the musicians. The Devagānam follows the style and tune of the Sama Veda, copied by those who recite the verses in temples.

The Superiority of Tiruvoymoli over the other three works of Sri Nammalvar and the works of all the other alvars.

The importance attached to a religious and philosophical work may be judged by the number of *Tanians* recited before commencing its study and also by the number of commentaries which later ācharyas have written on it. Judged by this standard no other work which forms a part of the four thousand verses of the Prabandham can be said to be a close second to the Tiruvoymoli. A *taniyan* is usually composed by an ācharya who first discovered the existence of the work or who for the

1. It is also the tradition that Nathamuni trained two sets of people to recite in the two styles both of which were exhibited before the Chola King in Gangai Konda Chōlapuram. The King is said to have appreciated the manushya ganam. Gangai konda Chōlapuram was built by Rajendra Chola I (1013-1045) who assumed the Surname Gangai konda Cholan. As he lived at least two centuries after Sriman Nathamuni, the tradition reduces itself to a fable.

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first time gave publicity to its excellence and the greatness of its author. In the same manner a commentary is usually written by an acharya of ripe experience, age and learning bringing out clearly the beauty of language and diction, the esoteric meaning or meanings and the great truths which are enshrined in the original text. This is done to awaken the spirit of enquiry in the readers. When a work has a number of taniyans and a number of commentaries written by acharyas of commanding spiritual stature, it may safely be assumed that the work deserves serious study. Judged by this standard Sri Nammālvāra Tiruvoymoli stands unrivalled among the works forming the Tamil Prabandham. Besides the Sanskrit taniyan composed by Srīman Nathamuni there are as many as five taniyans in Tamil, the authorship of some of these being however attributed to different acharyas by the protagonists of the Tengalai and the Vadalgalai sects. The taniyans are however undisputedly recited by all.

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1. 1 திருவழுதி காடெனதும் உதவகுருகு செவதும்
மருவினிய வண்பெருகு வெவதும்—அருமை
காதாதி செயதா எழுவியையே எப்பொழுதும்
சித்தியாய செருசே தெயிசுது
அய முடிகாடும் நூறுநூறு
மருவினிய வண்பெருகு, அதனுடைய
காதாதி செயதா எழுவியையே எப்பொழுதும்
சித்தியாய செருசே தெயிசுது

(author Sri Nathamuni about 900 A.D. or Madhurakavi about 780 A.D.)

The difference of opinion about the authorship has perhaps been the work of those who were interested in creating and maintaining points of dispute between the two Sri Vaishnava Communities Vadagalai and Tengalai. It is worth pointing out here that neither Sri Alavandar (Yāmuna muni) Tirumalai Nambi, Sri Ramanuja nor his cousin and disciple Embar contributed a taniyan for the Tiruvaymoli. Nor was a commentary written by any one of the above. Sri Alavandar no doubt

2. మనకతాల్లమ్ వాయాల్లమ్ వణక్రుక్కూ పేణ్ణుమ్
 ఇనైతకారై యలలూ త్తియైరైశేణ—కనకతాల్లమ్
 ఇతమ్ కురైవీలేణై యనైత సడకోబణ
 పాతంగళి యామైయ పరై

మనత్తాల్ వాయాల్ వణ్ణుగూ పేణ్,
 ఇనత్తైయలైయైశేణ్, కనత్తాల్
 మేదుజుత్తివీలేనై శడగోపన్
 పాడజ్జి యామైయపరై

(Author either Nathamuni 900 A.D. or Sottai Nambi 950 A.D.)

3. ఇయనైపెరువు కీతత్తి ఇర్రామా నుశమ్రుణితన్
 వాయనై మలపపాతమ్ వణ్ణక్కుకినైరేణ—ఇయనైపెరువు
 శిర్రా సడకోబణ శెనైయిళైవై తమకగిక్కుమ్
 పేరైత ఇల్లమ్ పెరై.

వియన్దపెరుజ్జీర్ త్తి యిరామానుశమునిదన్,
 వాయన్దమలర్ ప్పాదమ్ వణ్ణక్కుకిన్, ఆయన్దపెరు
 జ్జీరై శరగోపన్ శెన్దమిళై వేన్దరిక్కుమ్,
 పేరైదవుళ్ళు మ్మె.

(author Tirukkuruksippiran pillan b. 1061 or Ananthavar b. 1048)

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acclaimed Sri Nammalvar as the progenitor of kulapati of the Sri Vaishnava sect.¹

This was written as a prefatory verse to his Sanskrit devotional work known as Stōtra ratnam but not as a taniyan in connection with the recitation and study of the Thiruvaymoli. These acharvas were not perhaps great Tamil Scholars for one thing. It is even doubtful if Sri Ramanuja studied closely all the verses of the Thiruvaymoli as will be

4 வானநிகழும் செவலை மதிசாநகர வண்புகழ்மேல்
சூனற தயிழமறைக ளாபிகழும்—சூனற
முதலதாய சடகோபன மெய்யம்பரல வளர்த்த
இதத்தாய இசைம னாகன

வாங்கியுழைந் குவிசரந் வலுந் மேல்,
அந்நவந் குவிசரந் வலுந், சூனற
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இதத்தாய இசைம னாகன

5 மிகை மிடைநிலையும் மெய்யாய மெய்யிலையும்
கக்க தெனிலும் தண்டலம்த—தென்கிலையும்
வெநிலிலையும் வளநிலிலையும் துறம் குருணைபர்கோன
யாழினினை வேதக நியை

வாங்கியுழைந் குவிசரந் வலுந் மேல்,
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இதத்தாய இசைம னாகன

(author Tirukkukurukalppitan pillān born 1061 or Bhajjar born 1062)

1 Māṇḍikā yavatayastanaya vihhūtiḥ
Sarvam yadēva nityamēna madanvayānām
Vītyaya nah kulapatēr vakulaśobhānam
Srimattadāṅghiriyugaḥ pranamāmi mārḍhat

pointed out later. The Tiruvaymoli alone came to be well known as the standard work of devotional literature, or the Bhakti form of worship of Vishnu. The works of the other ālvārs were obviously not known, or less known and could not have been classed as philosophical, but only devotional. Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvaymoli was compared by Srīman Nathamuni to an ocean which had received the essence of all the Upanishads. There was however no philosophical work in Tamil or Sanskrit which could counteract the influence of the new Advaita philosophy of Sri Sankaracharya. Nammalvar's Tiruvaymoli makes no reference to and does not attempt to refute the Advaita philosophy. The fact may be that the latter sprang on the world in full force after the days of Sri Nammalvar. It was left to Sri Ramanuja to promulgate his Viśiṣṭadvaita philosophy to counteract Advaitism. And he is said to have done it in fulfilment of one of the three injunctions of Sri Alavandar during the last moments of his life by keeping three of the fingers of his hand folded the meaning of which was understood by Sri Ramanuja. Bhakti is the basis of his Viśiṣṭadvaita philosophy. His treatment of the subject is based solely on the Vedic texts, and Smritis. Ramanuja has not quoted a single Tamil verse from the Tiruvaymoli as authority, or even as a parallel. This might have been due to his desire that his work should find acceptance in the whole of India and not merely in the extreme south. So it could not with justification or

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in fairness be said that his philosophy was to any extent inspired by the teachings of the Tiruvaymoli. Another of the folded fingers of Sri Alavandar was taken to represent his desire that a commentary on the Tiruvaymoli should be written to make known that its teachings are quite in consonance with the Vedic religion and the philosophy of the Bhagavat Gita for which Sri Alavandar himself had written a short commentary. Sri Ramanuja has also written his commentary on the Gita. There was no dearth of great Tamil Scholars among the four castes in South India who could well have written splendid commentaries in a style of Tamil which the rank and file could easily understand and appreciate [Great philosophical truths had been expressed in verse by Bhudattaivar who prided himself as one who could sing in Gnāna Tamil. Such men might have lived even during Alavandar's days].

The reason behind Ramanuja being asked to undertake this work is easily seen. Sri Nammalvar was born in the fourth caste and whatever may be the merits of his work and philosophy there would have been a natural hesitation on the part of the members of the three higher castes to acknowledge him as the Kulapati of all Sri Vaishnavas which Sri Alavandar's aim was to overcome. It was imperative that all those who look to the Vedas in the Sanskrit language as the fountain head of all Spiritual culture should be made to appreciate and acknowledge the greatness of the Tiruvaymoli. Any Tamil commentary on it to achieve this end

should be replete with parallel quotations from the Upanishads and Srutis written in a high style. All the commentaries were therefore written in the Composite Tamil-Sanskrit or 'manī pravālam' style. This would have appealed strongly to the Brahmin and the other Sanskrit scholars and helped to regard Sri Nammalvar as one who had the Divine spark in him (an amsa of God). There were serious objections raised in later days by great Sanskrit pandits to the recital of the Tiruvaymoli until Sri Vedanta Desika overcame them and gave to the Tiruvaymoli the name 'Dramīdopanishad' (the Dravida Upanishad).

Sri Ramanuja commissioned his gnanaputra Sri Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan (the younger son of his uncle Sri Tirumalai Nambi) to write this Commentary and fulfil the second of the injunctions given by Sri Alavandar. This was done because he was a great scholar in Tamil as well as Sanskrit, one of the best exponents of Sri Ramanuja's Sri Bhashya and a descendant of Sri Alavandar.

Commentaries on the Tiruvaymoli.

Sri Ramanuja and Embar (also known as Govinda Bhattar) were the sons of Tirumalai Nambi's two sisters. Neither of these has written any original religious work in Tamil though they might have been good enough to understand and appreciate the writings in that language. Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan became the Gnanaputra and a disciple of Ramanuja. One Kūrattālvār, a devoted disciple of Sri Ramanuja, had his twin sons, named

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as Perasara Bhattar' and Sriram pillai. Bhattar was a genius and within his short life of about 28 years wrote many mighty philosophical works in Sanskrit. His Commentary on the Vishnu Sahasra namam had the approval of Sri Ramanuja. The twins were the disciples of Embar

One Nanjiyar also known as Vedantijiyar who was a native of Tirunarayanapuram went about the country in great style challenging any one who could hold disputation with him in Vedānta. The young Bhattar worsted him and made him his disciple. Nanjiyar does not appear to have been descended from any of the disciples of Sri Alavandar or his immediate predecessor. Nanjiyar's birth date may be 1053 while Bhattar's was 1063 A.D. Tirukkurukappiran Pillan was born in 1062 A.D., and his commentary on the Tiruvaymoli known as the Ārāyirappadi (అరాయీరప్పది గ్రంథము) is likely to have been composed when he was about 60 years of age. That commentary was undertaken as desired by Sri Ramanuja and had received his approval as correctly representing the ideas of Sri Nammalvar and in consonance with his own Sri Bhāshya. It was therefore named Bhagavad Vishayam or Concerning God. This was probably why none of the other

1 The second son of Sri Tirumalai Nambl was renamed as Tirukkurukappiran Pillan and one of the twin sons of Kurattalvar as Perasara Bhattar in compliance with wish of Sri Alavandar who wanted that two of the most promising boys in the family of his disciples should bear the names of Perasara and Tirukkurukappiran or Nammalvar to whose greatness he has paid tribute in his Stotra ratnam

disciples of Sri Ramanuja attempted to write a commentary. Nanniyai however became a friend and disciple after the untimely death of Bhattar. He therefore wrote his *Navam* (Nine thousand padī) as against the Six thousand padī of Pillan. He wrote also some other commentaries (viz., two thousand padī on *Tiuppavai*, *Tiuppallāndu* etc., works which were not mentioned or not known to Sri Nathamuni). They had not received the approval of Sri Ramanuja and were perhaps composed after his death (or after 1137 A. D.)

Nampillai who was one of Nanjiyars disciples wrote commentaries on the *Tiruviruttam*, etc. His disciple Periya āchchān pillai wrote a commentary on the *Tiruvaymoli* known as *Īruṇṇaṁ* (the twenty four thousand padī) besides a number of commentaries on the other twenty three works which make up the *Prabandham*. He is a great commentator and was the first to write about all the works of the *Prabandham*. His birth date was 1227 A. D., and his commentaries might have been written about 1280 A. D. The fourth commentary on the *Tiruvaymoli* was by *Vadaku Tiruvīdhi pillai* (వదకు-తిరువీధిపిల్లై వాడుకకుడు తిరువీధిపిల్లై) and is known as *Ṣaṣṭhaṁ* (the thirty six thousand padī). The year of its composition may be taken to be about 1290 A. D. Each succeeding commentary is more voluminous than the preceding one. The natural inference is that a section of the Sri Vaishnavas felt that *Tirukkuru-kaippian Pillan's* commentary though it had the

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approval of Sri Ramanuja and was considered the standard one did not do full justice to Nammalvars Tiruvaymoli or that it was not illuminative. Those who wrote the subsequent commentaries did not come from among the disciples of Pillan but from disciples of Nanjiyar. This appears to be the starting point of the cleavage among the followers of Sri Ramanuja. In later times two of the Vadagalai¹ acharyas wrote commentaries based on Pillan's Arāyirappadi (Sri Vedanta Desika and Sri Vedanta Ramanujaswami)

The point is clear that Nammalvars Tiruvaymoli was considered to be a work of so high an order that numerous commentaries were written on it. The other twenty three works did not receive so much attention. It was left to Periya Achchan Pillai to write an omnibus commentary so late as 1280 A.D. a century after the death of Sri Ramanuja.

A word has to be said about the origin and the style of recitation of the Prabandham. The tradition is that Sri Ramanuja received tuition in this from Tiruvarangapperumal araiyar (திருவாரங்கப்பெருமார் அரையார்) one of Sri Alavandar's sons & disciple born in 947 A.D. who was considered an expert in abhinayam and the fine arts. The study of the text was made under Tirumalai Andan who was also one of Sri Alavandar's disciples. It has therefore to be presumed that the recital received special attention

1. The terms Vadagalai and Tengalai although used in this connection are really of recent origin. It will be seen from section 2 of this chapter that the terms do not occur in any of the T. T. D. Inscriptions even till 1684 A.D.

RECITATION OF TIRUVOYMOLI

as early as about 1100 A.D. Those were days when there was no printing of a large number of copies of a valuable literary work. With the steel style on the cadgeon leaf every one had to transcribe what was read out or recited by another. Memorising of religious and other valuable works was done by studying under a teacher and by a large number of learners reciting together what was uttered by the teacher. Congregational recitation gave opportunities for acquiring the correct pronunciation etc. Whether the recital was done systematically and daily in the Srirangam temple is a moot point. The Araiyar was known as Ramanuja's Chintana āchārya. The Prabandham goshtī that we now witness may be said to have been started in the days of Araiyar and Sri Ramanuja.

There is the tradition that the recitation of the Tiruvaymoli on a footing of equality with the Vedas was commenced in Srirangam. This seems to be confirmed by an inscription which is said to be referable to the reign of Kulottunga Chola I which records that in a certain festival in Srirangam the recital of some portion of the Tamil Prabandham was permitted by the 'King'. The date may be taken to be 1117 A.D., i.e. twenty years before the death of Sri Ramanuja and at a

1 Vide Vol I, p 274 of, Dr S K Ayyangar History of Tirupati who however does not give the full text or even the gist of the inscription nor the regnal year of the inscription

time when he was an exile in the Mysore country. The practice has been to commence the recitation on the Sukla Ekādaśī tithi of the Tamil month of Mārgaḷi and continue it for ten days as is done in the case of the recitation of the Vedas and along side of it. This was presumably done only in the Srirangam temple and not in other places. The other three thousand verses of the Prabandham were tacked on later two thousand being recited on the preceding ten days and one thousand on the succeeding two or three days. The Ramanujan Nūṛṇḍaḍi was also a later day suffix.

So far as Tirumalai and Tirupati are concerned there are a large number of inscriptions which help us to prepare a regular history in Section 2 of this Chapter.

The other three thousand verses of the Prabandham.

The taniyans prefixed to the other three works of Sri Nammalvar and to the other works of the Prabandham show that these works were discovered by later acharyas. The commentaries on these are of still later dates. They do not appear to have been known to Sri Ramanuja. The names of the authors of the taniyans, their date of birth, the names of the commentators and their date of birth are given in the accompanying statement. The average date of the taniyans may be taken to be 1100 A D. Nanjiyar's commentary on the Periya

PRABANDHAMS AND ANDHRA POETS

Tiruvandādi would have been made about 1180 A.D and Nampillai's commentary on the Tiruviruttam about 1250 A.D. Periya Āchchān pillai's commentaries would have been composed about 1280 A D , and Tiruvaymoli pillai's about 1360 A D

The large number of commentaries on the Tiruvaymoli should not be taken to mean that the first one written by Tirukkurukaippirān Pillan and which bore the seal of approval of Sri Ramanuja as representing the intentions of Sri Nammalvar and as being in accord with the teachings of the Brahma Sutras of Sri Vyasa Bhagavan and the mythology expounded in Sri Parasara Bhagavāns Vishnu Puranam (both of which are well expounded in Sri Ramanuja's Sri Bhashya) is in any way defective. The other commentaries only go to show the pre-eminent position which the Tiruvaymoli had attained to. Each commentator studied the text independently and expounded his own views on what he considered to be the real intentions of Sri Nammalvar. So also every scholar who in our age studies the original text seriously could throw new light on many essential points based on the development of Bhakti form of worship in other parts of India and in other countries. Pillan's commentary is the standard one and has been honoured as "Bhagavad Vishayam" by Sri Ramanuja.

The Prabandham of the Ālvārs was considered by the acharyas to be as sacred as the Sanskrit

Vedas with the added advantage that the meaning would be intelligible to the reciter. Despite the fact that all the works are in Tamil great Andhra poets and thinkers like Allasani Peddanna Talla pakkam Annamacharya and his sons and grandsons (Pedda Tirumalai Ayyangar, China Tirumalai ayyangar etc.) studied the Tamil language for understanding the Prabandhams in original. Like the Hebrew Bible and the Tamil Tirukkural, they are worth translating into other languages if only men gifted with the spiritual fervour of the Ālvārs would undertake the task.

Commentaries on the Tiruvaymoli.

The tanivans to the Tiruvaymoli and their authors with birth dates have already been given on pages 944-6. The names of the commentators with birth dates are given below.

(1) Tirukkurukalppiran Pillan, the second son of Sri Tirumalai Nambi who is the maternal uncle of Sri Ramanuja and the grandson of Sri Ālavandar (Yāmuna Muni). Pillan's birth date is 1062 A.D., (K. Y. 4163 Plava) and birth place Tirumalai (Vengadam). His commentary known as Āraylrap padl may be assigned a date between 1100 and 1130 A.D.

(2) The next commentary was by Nanjiyar (or Vedanti jiyar) whose birth date is rather difficult to ascertain. He is considered to have become

the disciple of Bhattar who was born in 1062 (K. Y. 4163) Subhākrit year and died when 28 years of age in 1090. Nanjiyar's commentary known as (అపరబ్రహ్మయోగము బసవదినాయరప్పడి) does not appear to have been known to Sri Ramanuja, in which case, it must have been written after Pillan's commentary or after about 1100 A.D.

(3) The third commentary is by one Periya Āchchān Pillai who was one of the disciples of Nampillai alias Lokacharya alias Varadaraja alias Tirukkalikanā dasar who was Nanjiyar's disciple. His commentary is known as (ఇరుపదతిలకాయోగము బసవదినాయరప్పడి). He was born in 1227 A.D., (K. Y. 4328, Sarvajit year) and lived for 95 years. His commentary might have been composed about 1280 A.D. He wrote commentaries on all the 24 works of the Piabāndham.

(4) The fourth commentary was by one Vāḍakku Thuvīdhi Pillai (అడకకుత తిరువీతిబిల్లి వడక్కుతిరు వీధిప్పిళ్ళి) who is said to have been born in K. Y. 4328 (the same year as that of Periya Āchchān Pillai 1227) and lived for 75 years. His commentary is known as (మృపదతతాయోగము ముప్పత్రాయరప్పడి 36000 padī) He is also one of Nampillai's disciples. His commentary would have come sometime after Periya Āchchan Pillai's say about 1290 A.D.

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Besides the above there are two more commentaries by acharyas who could claim lineal discipleship from Sri Ramanuja and Tirukkṇṛkalppiran Pillan and perhaps represent the present day Vadagalaḥ views. One is by Sri Śākshāt swami (alias Srimad Vedantā Ramanujaswami) known as (இருபத்து ஊர் விடபடி ஏறுவது நாராயணப்படி) 'and the other known as the (எழுபத்து ஊர் விடபடி ఎழுవస్తునారాయణப்பడి) or Nigamaparimalam by Sri Vedanta Desika. The latter is said to have been lost. Its date would have been about 1340 A.D. Besides the above Sri Vedanta Desika has written two works one called Dramidōpaniṣat Tatparya Sarāvali and the other Dramidopanishat Sāram

Nanjiyar wrote in addition commentaries on Tiruppāvai, Tiruvandādi, Kaṇṇinnuṇ Siruttāmbu and Tiruppallāndu.

Nampillal wrote on Tiruviruttam Kaṇṇinnuṇ Siruttāmbu and Tiruppallāndu

Periya āchchan pillai wrote on all the other twenty three works of the Prabandham

One Tiruvaymōli Pillai alias Tirumalai ālvān born in 1325 A.D (K. Y. 4426) Vibhava year) wrote a commentary on Periya alvars Tirumōli. He is the son of Pillal Lokācharya

OTHER WORKS COMPRISING THE PRABANDHAM

Poygai Alvar's.	Taniyan. ¹	Commentary.
Name of work.		
1. Mudal (First) Tiru vandādi, முதல திருவந்தாதி 100 verses, ముడల్ తిరువందాది	Taniyan by Mudali āndān or Dāsarathī (born 1033 A.D.) about 1100 A.D. (கைதைதேசோ பூமபொழிவு குழி), பூதேசேர் புலவர் பிள்ளை	Periya achchan Pillai about 1290 A.D.
2. Ir and ām (second) Tiruvandadī, இரண்டாம் திருவந்தாதி; 100 verses, ఇరందాం (రెండో) తిరువందాది	Budattalvar's. Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan (born 1062) about 1100 A.D. திருக்குருகைப்பிரான் பிள்ளான் (என்பிறவந்திர இளைமஞ்சி) ఎన్ పిణవిత్ర	Do
3. Mūnram (Third) Tiru vandadī, మూనరామ్ తిరువందాది; 100 verses, మూనాం తిరువందాది	Peyalvar's. Kurukaikkāvalappan (born about 900-1000 A.D.) (కురుకైకకావలప్పన్) కురుకైకకోవల (కూరకూడతి రుక్కోవల్ శిరారుమాడతి రుక్కోవల్)	Do.

1 In column three the first few words only of the taniyan are given, the date of birth and the probable date of composing the taniyan are also given

Name of work	Taniyan	Commentary
4 Tirubhanda-viruttam (தொண்டவீரத்தம்) 120 verses, கூறியவர்களுள்	Tirumalaipuran 8.	Do
	Tirukkachchinambī தொச்சச்சி நம்பி வயல்-உருவ, Coeval with Priyanambī about 1100 A.D. திருச்சந்தாமரையில் கூறியவர்களுள்	
	Periya Tirumalaianambi 1100 A.D. பெரிய திருமலை நம்பி நான் கூறியவர்களுள்	
	Śrāṇpillaṭi (சொழி பிலாட்டி) born 1062) 1100 A.D. ஸ்ரீரங்கபிலாட்டி பிறந்த 1062) 1100 A.D. ஸ்ரீரங்கபிலாட்டி	Do
5 Nannukan, Tiru, yandāḍi, தந்தகன திரு, யந்தாட்டி 96 verses, தந்தகன நான்	Tondaradippēḍi Alvara.	
	Tiruvāṅgappertumalarnaiyar திருவாங்கப்பர்துமலர்நாயர் பெருவாங்கப்பர்துமலர்நாயர் பிறந்த 947) 1000 'மத்தொருவர்தமமேனட்டி' முதலியவர்களுள்	Periya, āchēchan Pillai about 1280 A.D.
6 Tirumālai (திருமலை), 45 verses, கூறியவர்களுள்		
7 Tiruppalli eluēchi (திருப்பள்ளி ஐலுச்சி) 10	Tirumalai 'āṇḍān (திருமலை ஆண்டான்) பிறந்த 988) 1040 A.D.	Do

Name of work.	Taniyan.	Commentary.
verses, తిరుప్పళ్ళి పాదములు	“Tamēvamatvā paravāsudēvam” తమేవమత్వా పరవాసుదేవం	
	Truvarangapperumalaraiyar (born 947) 1000 A.D. “మణిమలరైయార్ 947” మణిమలరైయార్	Do.
	Tiruppanalvar's.	
8. Amalanādirān (అమలనాదరైయార్ 10 verses)	Periya nambi (పెరియ నామి) పెరియనామి (born 937) 1000 A.D. “Āpādachūda- manubhūya” ఆపాదచూడమనభూయ Periya Tirumalai nambi (పెరియ తిరుమలై నామి) పెరియ తిరుమలై నామి (born 973) 1030 A.D. “కాండలైకణ్డ” కాండలైకణ్డ	Do.
	Periya Alvar's.	
9. Tiruppallādu (తిరుపల్లాదు 12 verses)	Nāthamuni (నాథామనీ) 900 A.D. “Guu- mukham anadhīya” గుమ్మముఖ మనాధీయ Pāṇḍya Bhattar “పాండ్య భక్తార్ శూరభక్త” పాండ్య భక్తార్ శూరభక్త	Nanjiyar (1170) Nāmpillai 1280 A.D. Periya āchchān 1280 A.D.

Name of work	Taniyan	Commentary
10 Tirumoli, (తెఱవెలియలి) 10 verses	Pāndya Bhattar (పాండ్యభట్టార) పాండియ భట్టార	Tiruvaymoli Pillan about 1380 A.D Manavalamuni 1420
Sri Andala.		
11 Tiruppāvai (తిరుప్పావై) 30 verses	Parasara Bhattar (పరసరభట్టార) (born 1062) 1090 వ సంవత్సరం ఘట్టే 'Nilā tunga' నీలాంగుళ "భారతవంశ ప్రధానము" అనునందు పుడునై	Nanjiyar 1170 A.D
	Uyyakkondar (అయ్యకండార) (born 826) 900' A.D తయ్యక్కండార 'తృతీయ శతాబ్దము' అనునందు పుడునై	Pernya āchchān 1280
12 Tirumoli (తెఱవెలియలి) 143 verses	Tirukkannamangal āndān (తిరుక్కానమంగల ఆంధాన) తిరుక్కానమంగల ఆంధాన 900 A.D "భారతవంశ ప్రధానము" అనునందు పుడునై	Do

Name of work.	Taniyan. Kulasekhara alvar's.	Commentary.
13. Perumal Tirumoli (திருமொழி) 105 verses அறுமொழி	Udayavar (1100) or Manakkāl nambi “இன்னமுத மூட்டுகேன்” “இன்னமுதமுட்கேன்” (உடையவா அல்லது மணக்காலமாயினே) (born 831) 900 “ஆரம செடப்பரன்” அரங்கேடப்புரன் Madhurakavi alvar's.	Do.
14. கண்ணிலாண சிறுத்தாமடி Kanṇinṇu, Sirt- tāmbu; 11 verses கண்ணில் சிறுதாம்பு	Nathamuni நாథமுனி (born 823) 900 A.D. “Avidita Vishayāntara” “அவித வி யாந்தர “வேறொன்றும் நான்றியேன்” “வேறுநுழைநான்பியேன்”	Nanjiyar 1170 Nampillai 1260 Periya achchan 1280
15. Periya Tirumoli பெரிய திருமொழி 1084 verses அறுமொழி 1084 verses	Tirukkōṭṭyūr nambi திருக்கோட்டியூர் நம்பி (born 927) 1000 A.D. அயர்க்கோட்டியூர் நம்பி “Kalayami Kavityamsau” கலயாமி கவித்யம்சௌ	Periya achchan
16 Tirukkurumtandā- kam திருக்குறந்தாண்ட- கம் அறுநூறுபாடகாண்ட 20verses	Emperumanar (1100 A.D.) (எம்பெருமா னார்) அம்பெருமாநார் (வாழிபரகாலன்) வாழிபர காலன்	Do.

Name of work	Taniyan	Commentary
17 Tirunedum tанда kani திருநெடும் தாண்ட கனி 30 verses ௩௦ பாடல்கள்	Alvan காவலன் Embar 1100 பாடல்களில் ௨௦௪௪ கரு Manavalaniamuni 1420 'மாவலத் தனிவே வழி' கருத்து உருவாக்கியது	Do
18 Tiruveḷukkūṭṭirukkal திருவெலுக்கூற்றிருக்கல் யைப்பற்றியுள்ள 77 பாடல்கள்	Emperumanar 1100 பாடல்களால் "செழி பாடல்கள் பாடியுள்ளன"	Do
19 Siriyā Tirumadal சிரிய திருமடல் 77 verses	Pillai Tirunāraiyūraiyar பிள்ளை திரு நாராயணன் "முனிவர் செழுமையான புழுவான்"	Do
20 Periya Tirumadal (பெரிய திருமடல்) 77 பாடல்கள் 148½ verses (15 to 20) 1361 461 verses	Pillai Tirunāraiyūraiyar பிள்ளை திரு நாராயணன் பெருமையான வானவரும் பாடியுள்ள பாடல்கள்	Do.

Name of work.	Taniyan.	Commentary.
Sri Nammalvar.		
21. Tiruviruttam (திருவீரகதம்) 100 verses இரண்டூறு	Kidāmbi achchan (born 1058-1100) or Sirampillai or Alavandan “சருவக்ருத தக குழிந்தகபிண” கருவிரத்தியு-ழிந்த பிள்	Nampillai and Periya ach- chan 1280.
22. Tiruvasiriyam திருவாசிரியம் 7 verses வாசிரியம் 7 verses வாசிரியம்	Arulāpperuman அருளாப்பெருமான 1100 A.D. பரஹ்மபெருமாள் “காசினி யோ தாமவாழ” காசினி	Periya achchan
23. Periya Tiruvandāḍi பெரிய திருவந்தாதி 87 verses பரிசுத்தவந்தாதி	Emperumanar (எம்பெருமானார்) 1100 A.D. “புருஷோத்தம குருசே” மூன்று நூல்கள்	Do.
24. Tiruvoymolī	1102 v.	
<hr/>		
Sri Nammalvar's	1296	Grand Total 4000 v.

Whether the Tiruvolmoli was seriously studied before the appearance of the commentary by Tiruk kurukaippiran Pillan and whether the other twenty three works which make up the Prabandham were known to and were studied by Sri Ramanuja are matters open to doubt. To illustrate this point let us consider the anecdote, which even some Sri Vaishnavas believe in that when a dispute arose whether the Dhruva Murti in Tirumalai represented Vishnu or Siva Sri Ramanuja had the Sankham and Chakram of Vishnu and also the Trisūlam and Damarakam of Siva placed before the Deity on a night before closing the temple doors to see which of these would adorn the Deity the next morning. The anecdote is that Sri Ramanuja being the avatar of Ādisēsha became a cobra went into the Garbhagriham through the Gomukham or the drainage hole in the north wall and put on the Deity the Chakram and Sankham. He is also said to have carved on the chest of the Murti the Sri Dēvi. How absurd such a story looks is plain to us who know that Sri Andal and Sri Nammalvar have both referred to the presence of Sri Devi on the chest. These Saints lived about three centuries before Sri Ramanuja. The presence of Sankham and Chakram has been mentioned in the Silappadhikaram also which again is three centuries before Sri Ramanuja's time. The works of the three Mudal Alvars and of Tirumalisai Alvar distinctly show that the Murti in Tirumalai has always been considered to be Srīman Narayana manifesting

Himself in Tirumalai. If the early Sri Vaishnavas, at any rate in that part of South India known as Tondaimandalam, had been conversant with the meaning of the verses in the Prabandham the absurd anecdote mentioned above would not have gained currency. The appearance of commentaries in times so late as 1220 A.D. to 1360 A.D., leads to the suspicion that in the early days the recitation of the Prabandham (or adhyayanam) alone was practiced without knowing the meaning of the verses just as is being done even to day. The recitation of the Vedas without knowing anything about what is recited is another example of this.

Pantheon of the Alvars.

It is also doubtful if Sri Ramanuja was responsible for the creation of a pantheon of twelve Alvars. He has nowhere said one word about the ālvārs not even about Sri Nammālvār (Sri Sathakōpa). Tradition ascribes many things to him. The tamil word Ālvār was honorifically used to designate Sri Nammalvar only and for the first time by Sri Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan in his commentary on the Tiruvaymoli which might have been composed a few years before the death of Sri Ramanuja. Pillan does not say anywhere therein that he executed the work in obedience to Sri Ramanuja's command and that it had the seal of his approval. There is not even the usual "Mangala Slokam" prefixed to it. There is one Sanskrit verse which stands prefixed. Its authorship is vicariously attributed in recent times to Tirukkuru-

kaippiran Pillan by the Vadagalais and to Parasara Bhattar by the Tengalais. It however cannot appropriately be considered to be a prefatory verse to a commentary on Sri Sathakopa Muni's Tiruvaimoli. This will be considered in detail presently.

Pillan commences his commentary on the first Tamil verse of the Tiruvaymoli உதவழி உதவைய (உதவழி உதவைய) thus

“అప్రకృత స్వాసాధారణ దివ్యరూప భూషణాయుధ మహిషీ పరిజన స్థానవిశిష్టనాయ్, నిఖిల జగదుదయ విభవాది లీలనాయుడునైన పరమ పురుషునైన ఉల్లవడియే అక్రూర 'తామ' తమ్ముడై య తిరుఉల్లతాలే అనుభవింతు ”

“அபரகருத ஸங்கரநாண திவ்யரூப பூஷணவுத மதறிநீ
பரிஜா ஸதக விலிஷ்டரூப க்விம ஜாததவ ஸிபாவதி ஸீவனா
விரகத பாமபுருஷனை உளவாமயே ஆமவாந் தாம தமருண்டவ
திருவணந்தகரே அனுபவித்த

It is in this commentary that Sri Saṭhakopa is referred to as "Ālvār". Neither Sri Nathamuni nor Sri Yamuna muni (Alavandar) gave that name to Sri Saṭhakopa muni. This word is not used in the Tiruvoimoli or in any of the Prabandham works.

The selection of twelve great tamil Vishnu Bhaktas to form the pantheon of Alvars and naming them in a certain order (apparently meant to point to their chronological order of birth) was not the work of Sri Ramannja. The order in which they are mentioned in a Sanskrit verses prefixed to the Tiruvoimoli and attributed differently to Pillan or Bhattar is given below

“ గూఢం పరస్మి మహాదాహ్వాయ భట్టనాథ
 బ్రహ్మనాథ యోగేశ్వర యోగినాథనాథ ।
 భక్తాంగమీరేణు పరకాల యాతీంద్ర మిశ్రాన్
 శ్రీనాథ సనాతన ముని ప్రణామోఽస్మి నిత్యం ” ॥

“ Bhūtam Sarascha Mahadahvaya Bhattanātha-
 Sree Bhaktisāra Kulasekhara Yōgivāhān ।
 Bhagtānghrirēnu Parakāla Yatindīa Mīśraṇ
 Srimat Parāṅkusa munim pranatōsini nityam ” .

The verse says that the thirteen saints mentioned therein (including SRI Ramanuja) should receive daily our obeisance. It does not show that it has any connection with the Tiruvaymoli or the commentary thereon. The authorship of this verse is also a debated point. The Saint Bhuta is placed before Saraścha or Poygai ālvar. The current general belief is that Poygai ālvar was the oldest of the Ālvārs. In fact the arrangement of the other ālvārs also is not in chronological order. SRI Ramanuja's name (yatindīa) is also mixed-up in the verse. It was possibly composed by some acharya after the death of SRI Ramanuja. There is the further consideration that none of the ālvārs excepting SRI Nammālvai and SRI Ramanuja figure in the acharya parampara which every Srivaishnava reminds himself and meditates upon as part of his daily duty. Even Bhattanātha (or Periya ālvār) is not considered to be one of the acharyas. The acharyas in the ascending order are thus given—“Asmad dēsikam asmadiya paramāchāryan asēshān gurūn ,

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Srimal Lakshmana yōgi pungava Mahāpūrnau
 Munim Yāmunam | Ramam Padma vilōchanam
 Munivaram Nātham Saṭhadvēshipam Sēnēsam Sri
 yam Indira sahacharam Narāyaṇam samāraye
 One s acharya is mentioned first and then right on
 in a chain are mentioned other ācharyas up to
 Sri Ramanuja thence Mahā Pūrṇa (alias Periya
 Nambi) Yamunābhārya, Rama (or Maṇakkal
 Nambi) Padmavilochana (or Uyakkondar), then
 Srīman Nāthamun, Sri Saṭhakopa (alias Sri Nam
 malvar), then through Viśhvaksēna Sri Devi and
 to Narāyaṇa This is the order of gurus who obtain
 salvation for a Srivaishnava

The other ālvāras are not treated as acharyas
 They were however considered to be very venerable
 elders Bhaktas and Bhagavatas The latter seems
 to be the place assigned to them in the Sanskrit
 verse "Bhutam sarascha There is yet
 another consideration Tiruvaymoli has been the
 only portion of the Tamil Prabandham which was
 permitted to be recited along side of the Vedas
 during the ten days of the Adhyayanotsavam com
 mencing with Sukla Ekadasi of the Margali month
 The recital of the other three thousand verses (as
 prefixes and suffixes to the Tiruvaymoli) was a later
 innovation In Tirumalai it was adopted only
 about the end of the fifteenth century A D The
 natural inference therefore is that Sri Nammalvar
 and his Tiruvaymoli only were given preference in
 the very early days

Why the Tiruvaymoli is recited along side of the Vedas during the Adhyayanotsavam.

Suman Nathamunigal compared the Tiruvaymoli to an ocean which has received the essence of all the Upanishads and his grandson Sri Yamunamuni (Alavandar) acclaimed its author Sri Sathakopa muni as the Kulapati or progenitor of all Sri Vaishnavas, although Sri Sathakopa was by birth a Sudra. These should have been sufficient to show to men of all the four castes that Sri Vaishnavism was a broad based religion. We may wonder whether there was any urgency or necessity to hold a special festival every year during which the Tiruvaymoli and the Vedas should be recited together. In this connection it is worth stating that in temples dedicated to the worship of Siva, worshippers of the four castes used to be accommodated in the caste order in separate compartments one behind the other in the mukha mantapam in front of the Lingam or the Mula Bēram. But in Vishnu temples the members of all castes have always been accommodated together in one compartment only. The very thought of touch pollution within the precincts of a temple was considered a sin. The Tamil devotional songs of the Saivite Navanars were not permitted to be recited during the daily puja in Siva temples. The result was that independent non-brahmin mutts sprang up known as Pandāra Sannidhis or Ādhīnams where separate worship was conducted reciting the Tamil songs of the Saivite saints. In Vishnu

temples although all castes were allowed to stand in one compartment in the mukha mantapam Bhakti songs in tamil were not in the early days permitted to be recited That there was a touch of grievance on this score may be inferred from one of Sri Kula sekhara alvar's songs¹ Therein he gives expression to his intense desire to see the day when those Bhaktas to whom Tamil and Sanskrit are equally sacred could do as they desired best and worship with flowers gathered with their own hands. That there was congregational singing in praise of God in Srirangam in Kulasekharas days (the early years of the eighth century A.D) is seen from stanza 11 of the Tirumoli

We may therefore reasonably assume that there was a real desire in the minds of the non hrahmin bhaktas that devotional songs in their mother tongue should be recited in the same way that the Vedas and Sanskrit devotional verses are done Sri Nammalvar's creed is that even a chandāla by birth is a person fit to receive our obeisance if he is only a Narayana Bhakta caste is no barrier It therefore appears to have been considered incumbent that the principle of equality should be observed not merely in words but in practice also by giving Tiruvaymoli

¹ அம் நகர நிலையின் ஆசனத்தி னுடைய
பாலின் அபகட மொழியைப் பற்றற்குநான்
பலவகை தாவணியைப் பயனி கொள்ளும்
கோலின் காயுற வழுத்தி என்னை காண
கொம்பமுதாய் எனது கொண்டு கயபுகரே

பெருமாள் திருமொழி 4

HOMOGENEOUS SRIVAISHNAVISM OF RAMANUJA

a status equal to the Vedas. The celebration of the Adhyayanotsavam appears to have been considered a necessary demonstration of that equality. Acharyas who came after Sri Ramanuja extended this equality by wedging in the recitation of selected pieces from the works of the other ālvars as well in the course of the daily puja called Nityarchana without in any way interfering with or impairing the grandeur of the agama rituals. The experiment seems to have been first tried in Srirangam in the twelfth century. Its extension to Tirumalai was achieved only in the fifteenth century in connection with the Utsava Mūrti. In Srirangam this equality was and is still being observed by a member of this Sattada Srivaishnava family being served with the tirtham (consecrated water) preferentially. In Tirumalai the Sattada Srivaishnavas recited the Prabandham along with the Brahmin Srivaishnavas and received prasadam on a footing of equality. They enjoyed also the privilege of supplying all the prepared articles of perfumery for the daily abhishekam of the Deity and to receive emoluments therefor.

The course adopted by the Sri Vaishnava acharyas brought together the four castes in the sphere of religious practices and obviated the creation of separate non-brahmin mutts and temples which was a feature of the Saivite religion in South India.

Sri Ramanuja's genius also created a decentralised administration in the religious sphere. Before his death he created seventy four *Holy sees*. Four of these were given jurisdiction for the exposition

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of his own Sri Bhasya in Sanskrit. The other seventy were given jurisdiction for the exposition of the Tamil Prabandhams. His gnanaputra Tirukknrukaipiran Pillan was given a two fold jurisdiction for the exposition of Sri Bhasya as well as the Tiruvaymoli. Pillan was made in fact the central and final authority. Thus Ramanuja created seventy four acharyapurushas with hereditary right of succession. They were called Simhāsanadhipatis. Their duty was to spread throughout India the tenets of the Viśishtadvaita philosophy of Sri Ramanuja and maintain the form of temple worship of the Vaikhanasa as well as the Pancha-ratra system as modelled by him. *While the recitation of the Vedas was the monopoly of the Brahmins the recitation of the Prabandham was made the common right of all the castes and both sexes*

The bulk of the people in South India have always been non brahmins and therefore was the creation of seventy sees for the Tamil Prabandham. Beside he also pressed into service an army of seven hundred ascetics to go out and preach his philosophy. For the benefit of the yet uncivilised people living in forests and on hills some Sattada Sri Vaishnavas were given the seal of authority to preach and to convert.

The recitation of the Tamil Prabandham was therefore made an essential feature in Vishnu temples administered by the Sri Vaishnavas and every endowment made for their maintenance was under their control (Sri Vaishnava Rakshai). It is the symbol of the observance of equality in the religious field in whatever part of the world the temple might be

TEMPLES VISITED AND/OR SUNG BY THE ALVARS

The Adhyayanotsavam is an annual demonstration of this principle

Temples visited and/or sung by the Alvars.

The Prabandham or works of the Alvars give us an idea of the type of Vishnu worship current during their days and how they themselves practiced it and were successful in having God realisation in this life itself. They laid great stress on a high standard of morality, implicit faith in God and a strict routine of personal worship by concentrating the mind on a material image made of stone or metal, a carving or painting or an image formed in the mind, when one rises to that level of concentration. No definite type of worship seems to have been current then. All that was required was complete concentration on the image, with eyes fixed thereon, and to worship the image with flowers, incense and light. The thousand and eight names of Narayana are to be uttered and meditated on. If one had not mastered these names a single name say Narayana, Madhava, Govinda, may be repeated endlessly. Control of the five senses is the essential requisite for success. They had full faith in all the anecdotes of the Vishnu Purana. It is Tirumalisai ālvār who for the first time seems to mention the Bhagavat Gita¹

1 சேயன் அணியன் சிறியன் மிகப்பெரியன்

ஆயன் துவரைக கோளாய் நின்ற —மாயன் அன்று

ஒதிய வாக்கத்தைக் கல்லார உலகத்தில

ஏதிலாராய மெயஞ்ஞானமில்

(*Nan Tiru An 71*)

He is Anōr aṇiyan Mahatō mahiyan. Those who have not learnt the lessons he gave on that day (when he came as the king of Dvaraka) will remain in darkness without true knowledge.

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and the essential feature of its teachings¹ Sri Nam mālvār however is the only Ālvār who has given a systematic exposition of his philosophy based on Bhakti

As a recreation and also to re-enforce Bhakti they visited some shrines where worship was being carried on regularly and in an impressive manner and have referred to them in the songs recording their itinerary. The Srivaishnava cataloguing of the places so visited by them shows that there are one hundred and eight shrines of this character spread all over India. All these were not visited by any of the twelve Ālvārs nor even by Sri Ramannja who is taken as the thirteenth Ālvār. The itinerary as recorded in the songs of each Ālvār shows that some places only were visited by each. Their ambit was in most cases limited to the region in which they were born and wherein their work in the main lay. The names of the 108 sacred places and those visited and sung by each Ālvār are given in the accompanying chart. The × mark against a place shows that the place was visited by the Ālvār whose name appears on the top of the column. In those early times South India was divided into regions ruled by kings of the Pallava, the Chola, the Pandya and the Chera clan.

1 இவ்வாறு ஒரு துறையில் சென்றும்
சென் அறையனவும் செல்லாது — சைவ
மதனவும் சைவமே மந்திரமும் ஈசனான
யாவது நான் சொல்லுகிறேன் ?

(Nan. Tiru An 72.)

Diverced from Cribastbadharma there can be no Sanyasam or giving up of all the dharmas ordained. All good acts ordained in the Vedas are to be done in the name of Narayana. Who can deny this?

A—PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP SUNG BY THE EARLY ALVARS.

Serial No.	Kshetram, or Place (sung)	Mudal ālvārs				
		Sri Poygai ālvār	Sri Būdat ālvār	Sri Pey ālvār	Tirumalisai ālvār	
In Vada Nadu (Country north of Vengadam Hills)						
1	Tiruvēṅgaḍam	×	×	×	×	
2	Singaveḷkunram (Ahobīlam)	..	..	:	:
In Tondai Nadu						
3	Vehka	×	..	×	×	
4	Kachchi (Attigiri)	..	×	..	..
5	Ashtabhūjakaram	..	..	×	×
6	Vēlukkai	..	..	×	×
7	Pādagam (Pandavadutar)	..	×	×	×	

Serial No	Kshetram or Place (sung)	Mudal alvārs				Tirumalaśai alvār
		Śrī Poyṣai alvār	Śrī Budat alvār	Śrī Poy alvār		
8	Uṅgam	:				
9	Tiruvevvuḷ (Trivellore)					
10	Tirunurmaiāl		×			×
11	Māmaḷḷai		×			×
12	Tiruvallikkonṭ				×	
13	Tirukkattigai (Shola Singapuram)				×	
Nadu Nadu						
14	Tirukkavalūr	×	×			
Sola Nadu						
15	Tiruvarangam	×	×		×	
16	Tanjak (māmanikkoyil)	×	×			×

TEMPLES VISITED AND/OR SUNG BY THE ALVARS

17	Tiruvāṇḇūl	...	...	...	×
18	Tirupperṇāgar (Kōvīlaḍi)	..	...	...	×
19	Tirukkūḍandai (Kumbakonam)	...	×	×	×
20	Tiruvīṇṇāgar	×	...	×	..
21	Kapistalam	...	...	...	×
Pandi Nadu					
22	Trumāḷurimsōlai	...	×	×	...
23	Tirukkōṭṭiyūr	...	×	×	×
24	Tiruttankāl	...	×	...	...
25	Tirukkurungudi	.	...	...	×
Total		...	5	12	12
					13

Note —Tiruppāṇālvār who sung in praise of Tiruvarangam incidentally mentions Tiruvengadam and Paramapadam His name is not shown although he maybe considered to be one of the Early Ālvārs

All the early Alvar's sāṅg Kṣheerabūdhi and Parāmāpadām also

B-PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP SUNG BY OTHER THAN EARLY ALVARS

Serial No.	Kshetram, or Place (sung)	Sri Periya alvar	Sri Andal	Sri Nam malvar	Sri Tiru mangai alvar	Sri Kulasekhara alvar
Vada Nadu						
1	Tiruvengadam	x	x	x	x	x
2	Singavēḷkunram (Ahobilaṁ)				x	x
3	Ayōdhya	x		x	x	x
4	Naimisāraṇyam				x	
5	Salagrāmam				x	
6	Badri (Kāraṇamam)	x			x	
7	Devī prayag	x			x	
8	Nandā prayag (Tiruppriddi)				x	
9	Dvāraka	x	x	x	x	
10	Gōvardhan	x	x	x	x	
11	Gōkūlam	x	x		x	

TEMPLES VISITED AND/OR SUNG BY THE ALVARS

[illegible]

TEMPLES VISITED AND/OR SUNG BY THE ALVARS

Sola Nadu

38	Tiruvarangam	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
39	Uraiyūr	.	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
40	Tanjai mamankoyil	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
41	Tānjar vāli nagar	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
42	Tiruvanbī	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
43	Tirukarambanur (Uttamai koyil)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
44	Tiruvellarai	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
45	Pullam pūdamguḍi	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
46	Tiruppērnagar (Kōvilāḍi)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
47	Tiru-āḍanūr	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
48	Tiruvāḷandūr	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
49	Tiruche hirupulayūr	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
50	Tiruchchērai (Sarakshētram)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
51	Talaichchanganānadiyam (Talachan- gādu)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
52	Tirukkudandai	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
53	Tirukkandiyūr	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
54	Tiruvinnagar	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
55	Tirukkannapuram	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×

Serial No	Kshetram, or Places (sung)	Sri Periya āṭṭavar	Sri Andal	Sri Nam māṭṭavar	Sri Tiru mangai āṭṭavar	Sri Kula sekharā āṭṭavar
56	Tiruvoli Tirunagari				x	
57	Tirunagai (Nāgappattanam)				x	
58	Tirunamiyur (Nāchoharkovil)				x	
59	Nandipura Vinnagaram (Nādan koyil)				x	
60	Indalūr (Tiruvālandūr)				x	
61	Tiruchchitra kūtam (Chidambaram)				x	
62	Kāli Sīrāma Vinṇagaram (Tādālan)				x	
63	Kūdalur (Āduturaiperumal)				x	
64	Tirukkannangudi				x	
65	Tirukkannamangai				x	
66	Kapistalam				x	
67	Manimāḍakkoyil (Tirunāngur)				x	
68	Vaikuntha Vinṇagaram				x	
69	Arimoyavinṇagaram				x	
70	Tiruttēvannārtogai				x	

TEMPLES VISITED AND/OR SUNG BY THE ALVARS

71	Vaṇpurushōttamam	...	...	...	×	·
72	Semponsey kōyil	...	...	...	×	·
73	Tirutteṭṭiambalam (திருத்தெம்பலம்)	...	...	...	×	·
74	Tirumanikkūdam	...	...	...	×	·
75	Kāvaḷambāḍi	...	...	...	×	·
76	Tiruvellakkulam (Kannan koyil)	...	...	...	×	·
77	Tiruppartan palli	...	...	...	×	·
Total Sōḷa Nadu		5	2	5	38	3
Pandi Nadu						
78	Tirumālirum Sōlai	×	×	×	×	·
79	Tirukkōṭṭiyur	×	·	·	×	·
80	Tirumeyyam	·	·	·	×	·
81	Tiruppullāni (Darbhasayanam)	·	·	·	×	·
82	Tiruttaṅkā	·	·	·	×	·
83	Tirumōkur	·	·	·	×	·
84	Tirukkūdal (Tenmadurai)	·	·	·	×	·

Serial No.	Kshetram, or Palces (sung)	Sri Periya āṭṭar	Sri Andal	Sri Nam māṭṭar	Sri Tiru mangai āṭṭar	Sri Kulaśe khara āṭṭar
85	Srivilliputtur	x	x			
86	Tirukkukur (Āṭṭar Tirunagari)			x		
87	Tolai villimangalam			x		
88	Sirivara mangai (Vanamāmalai Nāṅunēri)			x		
89	Tiruppulingudi			x		
90	Tiruppērai		:	x		:
91	Sri Vaikuntham		:	x		:
92	Varaṅga mangai	:	:	x		
93	Tirukkulandai (Perungulam)	:		x	x	
94	Tirukkuruṅḍi	x		x		
95	Tirukkōlūr			x		
Total Pādi Nāḍu		4	2	12	7	

TEMPLES VISITED AND/OR SUNG BY THE ALVAR̥S

	Malai Nadu					
96	Tirumūlkkāḷam	...	..	×	×	..
97	Tiruppuliyur kuttanāḍu	...	...	×	×	..
98	Tirunāvāy		.	×	×	..
99	Tiruvallavāḷ			×	×	
100	Tiruvananṭapuram	.		×	...	
101	Tiruvāṇṇaiśāram			×		
102	Tirukkāṭkarai		..	×	...	..
103	Tiruchchengunrūr		...	×		..
104	Tiruvāṇṇandūr			×		
105	Tiruvāttāru	...		×		
106	Tirukkadittānam			×	..	..
107	Tiruvāranvīlai	...		×	...	...
108	Vittuvakkōḍu		.	..	..	×
Total Malai Nāḍu				12	4	1
Grand Total		20	9	35	84	6

NOTE — *Places sung exclusively by one āṭṭār*

By Kulasekhara (Vittuvakkudi No 108)

By Nammalvar (Paṇḍi nāḍu ten, No 83, 86 to 93 and 95)	} In Tondaināḍu and nāḍu nāḍu Nammal var has sung None
Malal nāḍu eight Nos 100 to 107	

By Tirumanga āṭṭār exclusively

in Vada nāḍu one No 4

in Tondal nāḍu eleven (Nos. 16 19 20 23 24 25, 26 27 28 29, 32

in Solā nāḍu thirty one (39 43, 45, 47 to 51, 53 56 to 77) Pāṇḍi
nāḍu two (80 82)

EXPLANATORY NOTE ON THE CHARTS

In between the Pallava and the Chola country lay an undefined small region called the Nadu nādu or mid country. The Pallava country was also known as Tondaimaṇḍalam or Tondai nādu which was bounded on the north by the Svarnamukhi river and on the south by the South Pennar. The Chola country known as Sōla nādu lay between the South Pennar and the Cauvery rivers. The Pandyam kingdom lay South of the Cauvery right down to the sea. The western half of the extreme south (ruled by the Chera king) extending to the Arabian sea was called the Malai nādu or Hill country. The remaining part of India to the north of the Tondai maṇḍalam was known as the Vaḍa nādu or Vadugar nādu (the country of the northerners). The chart shows the sacred places arranged on the above regional basis adopted by the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas.

Shrines in the Vada Nadu, Nos. 1 to 13.

Out of the thirteen places shown, nos 12 and 13 are imaginary ones (Kṣheerābdhi and Paramapadam) which no body has seen or could visit with this human body. Nine more, viz., Ayōdhya, Naimisāraṇyam, Sāhagrāmam, Badri, Dēviprayāg, Nandaprayāg, Dvāraka, Gōvardhan, and Gōkulam are in North India which the early Ālvārs neither visited nor sang about. It is not certain whether the other Ālvārs who have sung had actually visited the place or places, or composed verses in praise of them as a matter of convention.

There remain only two more places in Vaḍa nādu viz., Singavēlkuṇram and Tiruvēṇḍam.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

The former lay and is in an unfrequented part of the Eastern Ghats in the present Kurnool district. It was visited and sung only by Tirumangal the last of the Alvars.

Tiruvēngadam is the only holy place of the Vada nādu which was sung as 'the Gloria in excelsis' by all the early ālvārs and by the later ones also excepting Madhura kavi ālvār and Tondaradippodi Ālvār. The Itinerary of the Ālvārs shows that Tiruvēngadam (this holds good of many other shrines also) was probably visited only once by each alvar excepting Sri Nammalvār who has sung more than four times and has visited at least twice. This will be commented on at length later in the third section of this chapter.

Shrines in Tondalmandalam or Tondal Nadu.

In Tondal nādu there are twenty two places which were visited and sung in all by five ālvārs. Out of these only eleven places were visited by the four early ālvārs all of whom belonged to that region. The other eleven places were sung by Tirumangal ālvār only. In fact none of the ālvār who belonged to the Pandya and the Malai or Chōra nādu visited any of the temples in Tondal nādu although some of them (particularly Sri Nammalvar) managed to visit Tiruvengadam after visiting Tiruvinnagaram and Tirukkudandal (Kumba konam). This would justify the assumption that the Tamilians of the extreme south had not in those days an attachment to the northern

EXPLANATORY NOTE ON THE CHARTS

and did not care to assess the greatness of the early ālvārs in combating the heretic religions of Buddhism and Jainism long before the people in the extreme south had to face the problem.

Shrines in Chola Nadu.

There are forty sacred places in the Chola country. The more famous ones are Tiruvarangam (Srirangam), Tirukkudandai (Kumbakonam), Tiruchchitra kūṭam (Chidambaram), Tirukkannapuram and Tiruvinnagar. Some of the four Mudal ālvārs visited eight of these places. Kulasekhara alvar visited in the Chola country only two places, viz., Tirukkannapuram and Chitra-kūṭam. From the latter place he went straight to Vēṅgaḍam. Periya alvar visited only five places and Sri Andal two and Sri Nammalvar five. Tirumangaḷ was the only one who visited thirty eight out of the forty places and he hailed from the Chola country. The chart shows the details.

Shrines in Nadu Nadu.

Naḍunādu has only two places viz., Tirukkōvalūr and Tiruvēndipuram. The former was visited by two out of the four early alvars and later by Tirumangaḷ alvar, who visited Tiruvēndipuram also. None of the Pāṇḍinādu ālvārs visited these two shrines although Tirukkōvalur is a very ancient one.

Shrines in Pandi Nadu.

It has eighteen sacred places, the more famous ones being Tirukkurunguḍi, Tirumālirumsōḷaḷ and

Tirukkōṭṭiyur Tirumālīśai ālvar (one of the early ālvars from Tondaimandalam) visited Tirukkurungudi and Tirukkottiyur but not Tirumālirumsōlai probably because the last named had not become prominent in his days. Nor did Kulasekhara visit the shrine.¹ But it has been visited by the later ālvars (four). It will also be noticed from the chart that except, in the case of Tirumālirumsōlai, and Tirukkurungudi, the shrines which were visited by Sri Nammalvar were omitted by Sri Periya Alvar and Sri Andal. Apart from the circumstance that the two ālvars belonged to different castes there may have been some other reason also for this noticeable attitude. There is also the fact that they did not visit the place of birth of each other as they seem to have been contemporaries. If they were not contemporaries we would expect the one who was born later to honour the older's birth place by a visit. The Deities in their birth places (Alvar Tirunagari and Srivilliputtur) were not visited or sung by any other ālvars excepting themselves. This leads to the suspicion that the greatness of Sri Nammalvar and Sri Periya Alvar was recognised only after their death and perhaps due to the publicity given by Sri Nathamuni and some of the later āchāryas.

Shrines in Malai Nadu.

It has thirteen sacred places and all of them including Tiruvananthapuram owe their importance

¹ This may be due to the fact that it was consecrated by a Pandyan King whose image was in the temple. Tirumālīśai would not bow to a human being.

to the visit by Sri Nammalvar. Tirumangai visited some of these places, all being to the east of the ghats

The above analysis shows that the ālvāis were not great itinerants and that Tirumalisai ālvār may perhaps be considered the more adventurous one considering the times in which he lived

During the days of Poygai ālvār there appear to have been only five sacred places or those so considered by him. During Būdattalvar's days the number increased to fourteen; but he visited only twelve and omitted even Vehka in Kānchi the birth place of Poygai, his senior in age. He however visited (in Kānchi) Pāḍagam. His own birth place Māmallai was sung by him but by no other ālvār excepting the last one Tirumangai. During the days of Pēyālvār (the third one) the number rose to 17; but he visited only twelve, including Triphicane (Tiruvallikkeni) which is near his birth place, also Tiruvallūr (Tiruvevvul), Pāḍagam, Ūragam and Vehka, the last three being in Kānchi. Tiruvarangam (Srirangam) and Vēngadam were visited by all of them. Tirumālirumsōlai was visited by Budattālvār and Pēyālvār, but not by Tirumalisai and Poygai ālvar. During Tirumalisai ālvār's days the number rose to 23 but he visited only thirteen. Tirukkurungudi was visited by him alone among the early ālvārs. But Tirumālirumsolai which was visited by Budattalvar and Peyalvar was not visited by Tirumalisai. He might have considered that Tirumālirumsōlai was only a recent temple proba-

bly consecrated by a Pandyan King and having no ancient traditions and that Tirukkurungudi though situated in the southernmost corner of South India had traditions behind it

Kulesekhera alvāre itinerary is worth pondering over. He was a ruling prince who had to carry the burden of governing his territory. But he found time to visit some sacred places of hoary tradition. Vittuvakkudi he visited in Malainādn probably because it was within his territory. The next place is Tiruvarangam in the Chola country. He did not set foot on the Pandyan soil. Even in the Chola country after visiting Srirangam (Tiruvarangam) he went to Tirukkannapuram and Chidambaram (Chitrakūṭam) which are in the border land. From Chitrakūṭam he went to Tiruvōngadam, ignoring all the holy places of Tondaimandalam. Out of forty sacred places in the Chola country Sri Periyalvar and Sri Nammalvar each visited only five places of which Tiruvarangam, Tiruppērnagar, Tirukkudandai and Tirukkannapuram were considered worthy by both. Sri Andal visited only two places, Tiruvarangam and Tirukkannapuram. Out of the eighteen places in Pandi nadu only two were visited by both Sri Periya alvar and Sri Nammālvar. Ten more were visited exclusively by Nammalvar, and two more exclusively by Sri Periya alvar.

If the sacred places of North India which probably have been sung out of veneration even without visiting are not taken into account Sri Periya alvār may be said to have visited only eleven

places, Sri Nammalvar thirty places and Sri Tirumangai alvar seventy four places. Of the last mentioned seven only are in Pāṇḍi nāḍu and four in Malai nāḍu.

It will now be apparent that the ālvārs were not great itinerants nor were they mendicants and sanyasis as Dr. Svamīkannu Pillai has presumed.¹ Each had a calling in life. Kulasekhara was a ruling prince; Nammalvar was a feudatory of the Pandyan king, Periya alvar was a lordly priest with a following of disciples, Tirumangai ālvār was a petty ruler. At the end of every ten songs sung by these ālvārs the eleventh one shows who each is and some evince a pride in their profession. It is only the early ālvārs of Tondaimandalam who refrained from disclosing their name, parentage, and calling. But Poygai ālvār makes it plain that he did not practice beggary. He distinctly says that he never coveted another man's belongings (பிறர் பொருள் நயவே ட). Their spare time alone was devoted to visiting sacred places. Their object obviously was to make the Agama form of worship in temples acceptable to the Tamil loving people of the country, Sri Alavandar in latter times acclaimed Sri Nammalvar (a sudra) as the Kulapati of Sri Vaishnavas of all the four castes and even of those outside the pale of caste. At the same time he recommended universal acceptance of the Vedic Agama form of worship.

¹ See Appendix VI of Dr. Svamīkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephe-meres*.

He worked for a fusion of the Sanskrit and the Tamil cultures in the religious and social field. He was only following the footsteps of Sri Nammalvar. The latter's visits to temples and his unqualified praise for the Brahmans who were reciting the Vedas and performing punctually the Vedic rites were mainly intended to make the people accept the agama form of worship. Before his days Tirumalisai ālvār laid stress on accepting the precepts of the Bhagavad Gita¹ and he was the first to travel down even to Tirukkurungudi in the extreme south.

Birth dates of the Alvars.

A few words have to be said about the birth dates of the Alvars and of the Acharyas as well. Among the scholars who devoted earnest attention to an investigation of this Dr Svamikannu Pillai stands foremost. He inevitably came to the conclusion that the pursuit was of a will-o-the-wisp nature. He depended for dates upon a work known as the Divya sūricharita of Garudavāhana Pandita who is said to have professed himself a contemporary of Sri Ramanuja. He seems to have been responsible for the traditional dates which assigned the Mudal alvars and Tirumalisai to Dvāpara yuga and Sri Nammalvar to the commencing months of the Kali yuga and so on. If Dr Svamikannu had only perused (1) the taniyan composed by Tirukkurukalippiran Pillai (the gnanaputra of Ramanuja) commencing with Bhutam Sarasola

(2) the order in which the ālvārs stand arranged in the Ramanuja Nūṣṣandadi (*See below*)

1. Nannukan Tiruvantādi 71-72.

BIRTH DATES OF ALVARS

అప్పారాజు, రామానుజ నామందాది) composed by Tiru-
 varangattu amudanār, one of the disciples of Sri
 Ramanuja (3) the order assigned to them by Sri
 Vēdānta Desikar in his Prabandhasāram (ప్రబంధసారం) which gives also the calendrical
 details of month and asterism (4) the order assigned
 to them by Sri Periya jīyar (alias Manavāla mahā-
 muni) in his Upadesaratnamālai (உபதేశ சதனாமலை,
 ఉపదేశ రత్నమాలై) which adopts the aippasi month
 as the starting point of his chronology and (5) the
 Vāli Tirunāmam (வாழி திருநாமம், వాళీతిరునామమ్) of
 the ālvārs composed by Appillai who was one of the
 disciples of Sri Manavāla Mahāmuni, he would not
 have attempted to find the birth dates of the alvars.
 Ramanujanūrrandādi may be assigned to the second
 quarter of the twelfth century after the death of
 Sri Ramanuja Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan's tani-
 yan might have been composed in the first quarter
 of that century Sri Vēdānta Desikar's Prabandha-
 saram may be given some date in the second quarter
 of the fourteenth century, at a time when he was
 busy combating those who opposed the recital of
 the Prabandhams in Srirangam. Sri Manavāla
 Mahāmuni's life period was from 1370 to 1443 A.D.
 His Upadēsaratnamalai may be given some date
 about 1430 A.D. Sri Appillai being a disciple of
 the former, his Vāli Tirunāmam may be assigned to
 about the end of the fifteenth century.

The first to assign in writing a month and aster-
 ism of birth for each ālvār was Sri Vēdānta Desika

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

probably in some year after 1330 A.D. Neither Pillān nor Tiruvarangattu amudanār who were contemporaries and disciples of Sri Ramanuja gave the month and asterism of birth. If the information had been available in their days Amudanar who wrote 108 verses would not have failed to incorporate such a valuable piece of information. The order in which the alvars are arranged by these two is also not the same. Pillān's arrangement is Bhutattalvar, Poygai, Peyalvar (Bhattanātha or) Periya alvar (Sree) Andal, (Bhaktisāra alias) Tirumālisaī, Kulasekhara, (Yogivaha alias) Tiruppānan (Bhaktān ghrirēnu alias) Tondaradippodī (Parakāla, alias) Tirumangai, Yatintra (Sri Ramanuja) Misra (Madhnrakavi) and Parānkusa.

Sri Tiruvarangattamudanar's arrangement is—Poygai, Bhūtam Poyan, Tiruppānan, Tirumālisaī, Tondaradippodī, Kulasekharan, Periya alvar, Āndāl, Tirumangai, Mathurakavi, (Satakopa) Nammalvar, Nāthamuni, Yāmunamuni and Sri Ramanuja.

There is considerable difference between the two arrangements. The only point on which both agree is about the Mudal alvars and even there there is a slight difference. The inevitable inference is that nothing definite was known during Sri Ramanuja's days about the birth dates of the ālvārs nor was there any anxiety to ferret out the information. There obviously was some speculation during the two succeeding centuries. Among Hindus the month and the asterism of birth used to be noted or remembered in the case of most births since even

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ALVARS

the name of the person is determined generally by the asterism of birth. So Sri Vedanta Desika probably accepted a tradition of a certain order of birth which perhaps was current in his days or he himself devised such an order and assigned to each a month and nakshatra as a matter of convention. His arrangement is:—Poygai (in Kachchi Arpasi Sravanam), Bhutam (in Kadalmallai or Māmallai,—Arpasi Avittam); Pēy (in Mayilai, Arpasi Satayam); Tirumalaisai (in Malisai; in Tai Makham); Nammālvār (in Kurukai; Vaikāsi Vīsākham); Mathurakavi (in Tirukkōlur, Chittirai, Chitta), Kulasekhara (in Vanjikkaḷam in Māsi, Punarvasu), Periya ālvār (in Sri Villiputtur Āni Svāti), Sri Andal (in Sri Villiputtur, Ādi Pūram), Tondaradippodī (Mandamkuḍi, Margali Jyeshtha), Tiruppānan (Uraiyur, Kārti, Rohini); Tirumangai (Kannamangai, Kartikai, Kritikai). The place of birth also is given in the above

The next arrangement was by Sri Manavālamāmuni who, it is no surprise to find, made yet another arrangement of the names keeping only the month and the asterism as before for each alvar. His arrangement in the Upadesaratnamalai is—

Poygai, Bhutam and Pey (in Arpasi Sravanam, Avittam and Satayam respectively), Tirumangai (in Kartikai Kritikai) Tiruppānan (Kartikai Rohini), Tondaradippodī (Mārgali, Jyeshtha), Tirumalaisai (Tai, Makha), Kulasekhara (Māsi Punarvasu), Nammālvār (Vaikāsi, Vīsakam), Periyālvār (Āni Svāti), Sri Andal (Ādi Pūram), Mathurakavi (Chittirai, Chitta), Sri Ramanuja (Chittirai, Arudra). He omitted the place of birth.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

The Vāli Tirunamam by Appillai arranges thus —Poygai, Bhutam Pey alvar, Tirumalisa, Nammalvar, Kulasekhara Periyalvar, Tondaradipodi, Tiruppanan Tirumangai, Mathurakavi, Āndal. This is more in accordance with Vedānta Desika's arrangement.

The arrangement by Manavālamāmuni differs from that of his disciple Appillai. The only possible inference is that even to the end of the fifteenth century there was no agreement about the dates of birth of the alvars. The month of birth and the Nakshatra only were agreed upon. If Dr. Svarnikannu Pillai had only read these works he would not have made the Will o the-wisp attempt to fix the dates of the alvars. The accompanying chart shows all the arrangements which have been discussed above. It may be added here that the celebration of the festival known as Āṭṭai-Tirunakshatram (annual birth star) of the alvars was commenced in Tirupati only in 1468 A.D. with the one for Kulasekhara alvar. Sri Andale Tirunakshatram was not celebrated till 1496 A.D., although she was being given a holy bath every Friday. Even Sri Ramanuja had his Tirunakshatram celebration only 1475 A.D. in Tirupati. All the ālvārs got it in Tirumalai in 1476 A.D. These will be discussed in Section 2 of this chapter. The coining of a birth day for the alvars might have been due to the desire to celebrate it as a festival. Whether in the South Tamil country the Āṭṭai tirunakshatrams of the ālvārs were being celebrated earlier than in Tirupati has to be ascertained from other evidence.

BIRTH DATES OF THE ALVARS

CHART SHOWING SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE BIRTH DATES OF THE ALVARS.

Pillan's Tanian 1130 A.D.	Amudana- nar's Ramanuja Nūran- dadī 1150 A.D.	Vedānta Desika's Pā- bandhasāram about 1330 A.D.	Manavala- muni's Upadesarātna- malai 1440 A.D.	Appillai's Vāi- ṭṭṛṇamam 1500 A.D.	Dr Swami kannu's	On critical consideration
Bhūdat- tālvār	Poygai	Poygai, in Kachchi, Aippasi Srava- nam	Poygai Aippasi Sraavanam Kachchi, Tula 719 A.D.	Poygai in Sraavanam	Poygai	Poygai
Poygai ālvār	Bhutam	Bhutam in Kadalmallai Aippasi Avit- tam	Bhūtam Aip- pasi Avittam Kadalmallai Aippasi, Avit- tam	Bhūtam in Kadalmallai 719 A.D.	Bhutam	Bhutam
Pēy ālvār	Pey	Pey in Mayilai Aippasi Satayam	Pey alvar Aippasi Satayam	Pey in Mayilai Aippasi, Sata- yam	Pey	Pey

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Pillans Tanian 1130 A.D.	Aavda naras Ramanuja Nurran dadi 1150 A.D.	Vedanta Desika's Pra bandhasaaram about 1330 A.D.	Manavala mami's Upadేశarāma- malai 1440 A.D.	Appillai's Vali Tirumam 1500 A.D.	Dr Swami kannus	On critical consideration
Periya alvār (Bhatta nātha)	Tirup- panan	Tirumalaisai in Maliesai Tai Makham	Tirumangai Kartikai, Kritika	Tirumalaisai Maliesai, Tai Makham	Tiru maliesai 720 A.D.	Tiru maliesai
Sreo Andāl	Tiru maliesai	Nammālvār in Karukur, Vaikasi Visakam	Thruppanan Kartikai Rohini	Nammālvār in Kurukur Vaikasi Visakham	Periyal var 725 A.D.	Tirup- panan
Tiru maliesai (Bhakthi śāran)	Tonda radippedi	Mathurakavi in Tirukkōlur Chittirai, Chittira	Tondaradip podi Margali Jyeshta	Kulasekhara in Vanjik kalam Masi, Punarvasu	Kulase- khara 767 A.D.	Kulase- khara

Kulasekhara	Kulasekhara in Vanjik- kalam Māsi, Punarvasu	Tirumālsai Tai, Makha	Periya alvar in Villiputtur Āni, Svāti	Andal 776 A D	Tondaradi- podī
Tiruppanan (Yōgi vāhan)	Periya alvar in Villiputtur Āni Svāti	Kulasekhara Masi, Punai- vasu	Tondaradi- podī in Man- danguḍi Mar- gaḷi, Jyeshtha	Tiru- mangai 776 A D	Periyavar
Tondaradi- radippodī (Bhaktan- grirēnu)	Sri Āṇḍal Sri Āṇḍal in Villiputtur Ādi, Puram	Nammalvar Vaiḱasi, Viṣakam	Tiruppanan in Urayur Kaiṭi- kai, Rohini	Tondaradi 787 A.D	Āṇḍal
Tirumangai (Parakāla)	Tiru- mangai dangudi Mar- gaḷi, Jyeshtha	Periyalvar Āni, Svāti	Tirumangai in Uaiyāalur Kartigai, Kriṭhika	Mathura 797 A D.	Nammalvar

Pillians Tanian 1130 A.D.	Amuda naras Ramanuja Nugra dadi 1150 A.D.	Vedanta Deekas Pra bandhasaram D about 1330A.D.	Manavala mamunis Upadesarata mai 1440 A.D.	Appillais Vali Tirunamam 1500 A.D.	Dr Swami kannus	On critical consideration
Sri Rama nuja (Yatindra)	Mathura Kavi	Tiruppanan in Urayur Karti gai, Rohini	Andal Adi, Puram	Mathurakavi in Tirukkölur Chittirai Chitta	Nam malvar 798 A.D.	Mathura Kavi
Misra (Mathura Kavi)	Nammal var	Tirumangai in Kannamangai Kartigai Krithikai	Mathurakavi Chittirai, Chitta	Andal, in Vilisputtur Adi Pūram		Tiru mangai
Param kusamuni, alias Nain malvar	Natha muni Yamuna Muni and Sri Rama nuja		Sri Ramanuja Chittirai Arudra			

THE ORDER OF ALVARs · POYGAI

It may be noted that in no case have the acharyas told us on what considerations "the order of succession" (if such an expression may be used) shown by them was adopted. How the month and the asterism of birth of each alvār was ascertained is also not given. Sri Manavala mūnuni arranged them in the order of the month commencing with appasi (Tulā). His disciple Appillai arranges the succession for Vāḍi Tirummai obviously in the chronological order of birth, but places Mathurakavi and Sri Andal at the end.

The order of succession as gleaned from the
Prabandhams.

But certain features noticeable in the Prabandhams seem to warrant an arrangement or order of succession of the Ālvārs. This order is given in column 7 of the chart.

Poygai Alvar.

From *Poygai Ālvār's* "First Tiruvandadī" it is seen that in his days the Vengadam Hill was the habitat of elephants which the 'Kuiavars' or Kurbas who inhabited or frequented the hill used to capture and tame by a certain primitive and ingenious method¹ and also how they scared away huge pythons² which sometimes obstructed their path. The autogenous and all bamboo forests are also described. It is also stated that wise Vedic scholars from all parts of the country who were engaged in evolving

1 First Tiruvandadī I 40

2. " I. 38.

from the Srutis an agreed philosophical system would go to the hill and worship the Deity seeking enlightenment on the real import of seemingly conflicting Srutis (bhedāhheda Srutis)¹ There is no reference made in the songs to Buddhism, Jainism or Saivism not speak of Advaitism The last named does not appear to have been current during the days of any of the ālvārs. Sri Sankaracharya's life period is presumed to be from 737-769 Therefore not only Poygai ālvar but all the other ālvārs as well seem to have flourished before the date of death of Sankaracharya and before Advaitism had any large following None of the ālvārs refers to it in the Prabandham The date of Poygai ālvār may therefore be assigned to a time when the Vengadam Hill was an unexplored forest infested by elephants and inhabited by kuravars, (or the kurbas)² Nor was there a temple structure then

1 First Tiruvandādi 37

2 The Tamil term kuravar used by the early Ālvārs is presumably a corruption of Kuraba These Kurabas seem to have been inhabiting this part of the country as also Kurnool, Mysore Salem Coimbatore and the Nilgiris Kurahalakota is an existing village in the Madanapatti taluk of the Chittoor District (Lat 13°-39 North Long 78° 23' East) Kurbalapatti is in Ooty Lat 11°-34 North and Long 77°-41 East Kuruba Nagalapuram in Kurnool Lat 15°-45 North Long 77° 54 East Kurumba palayam in Coimbatore Kurumbapatti and, Kurumbarahalli in Salem The Kurbas (kuravar) appear to have been a virile set of people who were in possession of the Tirumalai Hills and the surrounding country even before the Pallava conquered it. Poygai Alvar's may thus have flourished even before 550 A. D.

THE ORDER OF ALVARS—BHUTAM AND PEY

Bhudattalvar.

The description of the hill, the wild animals and the primitive inhabitants given by *Bhudattalvar* is similar to what was given by *Poygai ālvar*. The only improvement is that he found the Deity decorated with flower garlands (Tulāyalangal)¹ and dressed up as Bālakrishna with the tuft tied up into a knot (~~~~~) over the forehead. There were flower bearing creepers on the banks of the hill streams. Bhudattalvar's birth place was "Māmalla" (the present Mahabalipuram) a flourishing seaport during the reign of the Pallava King Narasiṃha Varman I, surnamed Māmalla 630-660 A.D. The place got to its name from the name of its king but was subsequently known as Kadalmallai. Bhudattalvār prides himself on his skill to express in chaste Tamil the philosophic ideas of the Upanishads "சுருஷ்டியிற் பரிசு நான்" Bhudattalvar may therefore be presumed to have flourished about 600-650 A.D. Poygai ālvar would have been his senior. His date may be taken as 500 or 550 A.D.

Pey alvar.

Pey ālvār describes the hill in about the same way as did the other two. He says in addition that the Kuravars were taking to the cultivation of dry crop (Italian Millet, or Tinai or Korra)² in addition to their Shikari occupation of capturing elephants

1 Second Tīruvandādi 53

2 " 33 and 76

3 Third Tīruvandādi 89

Pey ālvār's date may be put down a few years after Bhudattalvar's

Tirumalisai alvar

Tirumalisai ālvār's description is more elaborate. He definitely has stated that the Deity was standing on a deforested plot of ground, had flowers placed on Him by worshippers and that the image was standing tall and clearly visible from all directions¹. His description of the hill shows that elephants, lions and panthers were infesting the forests. He changed his religion from Buddhism to Jainism and Sarvism successively and at last found rest and salvation by pinning his faith in the worship of Narayana. He had studied the Bhagavat Gita in Sanskrit and his work shows that he was well versed in the Puranas etc. and had great reverence for the Vedic religion and culture. In fixing his date we have to take note of the description given in the Tamil classic Silappadhikaram which describes the Vengadam Hill and the Deity as having been decorated with flowers and having Sankham Chakram and Bow in hand which are not mentioned by Tirumalisai. Silappadhikaram is assigned to 756 A.D. by Dr. Swamikannu Pillai. Tirumalisai might have flourished about a century earlier.

Tiruppana alvar

His successor or contemporary or predecessor in point of time may be *Tiruppanālār*. The descrip-

1. Nanmukhan Tiruvān 31d1 45

tion which he gives in his "Amalanadippiran" of the image of Sri Ranganatha of Sriangam has to be taken into consideration in this connection. He describes the Deity from foot to head as he worshipped for the first time in his life. He does not mention the image of Sri Devi on the form of the Deity. The description given in Silappadhikaram distinctly mentions the existence of the image of Sri Devi (திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும). Therefore Tiruppanalvar should have flourished before 756 A.D. The use of a relatively large number of Sanskrit words within the short space of his ten verses and the strict adherence to the use of chaste tamil words (as far as could be managed) by Tirumalisai and his predecessor would warrant his being placed next to Tirumalisai in point of time, or about 700 A.D. although Dr Swamikannu gives the date 610 A.D.

Kulasekhara alvar.

Kulasekhara ālvār's Tirumoli shows that Sri Ranganatha in Srirangam was being worshipped six times a day (as prescribed in the agamas), whereas in Tirumalai such was not at that time the case. In his days elephants seem to have become scarce in Tirumalai. The use of the 'Tambaka' wood is mentioned in his song leading to the inference that there was a wooden temple (or makeshift for one) with doorstep etc. The use of a gold cup for receiving the water used during worship is also mentioned. His visit would therefore have been after 756 A.D. He was a ruling Prince and his rapid

marches avoiding the Pandyan Chola and even the Pallava country have also to be given consideration. While in Srirangam he gave expression to his dissatisfaction that worshippers were not singing and praising God in their own mother tongue in addition to the routine agamic Sanskrit texts. Tondaradippodi alvar has composed verses in Tamil for waking up the Deity in Srirangam from sleep for adorning with flower garlands and so on. His description of Sri Ranganatha shows that many additional images were added to the pantheon so as to make up what in the language of the agamas, is called Bhoga Sayana Murti. He therefore might be placed next after Kulasekhara ālvār. He refers also to Buddhists Jains etc. in his songs.

Periya alvar

Periya ālvār's reference to the Pandyan King Nedumāran alias Varaguna Maharaja (765-815 A.D.) in Periya alvar Tirumoli IV 2 7¹ and his

கோனவிலக வேறகோனகேடு மறங்கேடு கூடறகோடு
தேய்க்கு கோனகேடு தென்திரு மாவிருகு கோனகேடு

Periyalvar Tirumoli IV 2 7

கனிகை மெய் மயாசை அயிரை தயாசை நான்கோரும்
தேறிந் தோனகேடு கோனகேடு கோனகேடு கோனகேடு

திருகோடம்பு

குறிக்கதனை மெய் கோனகேடு குணமயகு வாகுசை கோனகேடு

Periyalvar Tirumoli IV 3 8

அயிரை கோனகேடு மயாசை அயிரை கோனகேடு கோனகேடு

யானகேடு

கோனகேடு கோனகேடு கோனகேடு கோனகேடு கோனகேடு

Tiruppallandu II

references to one Selvan, the purohit and court pundit of that king in IV 4, 8 and Tiruppallandu. 11. go to show that he was their contemporary, as the references are made in the present tense

Sri Nammalvar.

Sri Nammalvar sings the praise of Narasinga-swami (Who however he said was far away from him) soon after singing the praise of Tirukkurungudi Nambi. His original name is Kāri Māran and he got the honorific name Sathakopan by virtue of his dispelling spiritual ignorance. The builder of the cave temple of Narasimha in the Anamalai Hill was Māran Kāri. This temple was consecrated by Madhurakavi in 770 A.D. Madhurakavi was a pious and learned Brahmin attached to Māran Kāri before he became the famous disciple of his son Kāri Māran Sathakopan. It is but natural that after singing the praise of Tirukkurungudi Nambi (Tiruvāy I. 10 9) at whose temple his father and mother did a long penance to be blessed with a worthy son he should sing (Tiruvāy II. 4 1 and 2) the praise of Narasinga the Deity whose cave temple was built and consecrated by his father and Madhura Kavi. Sri Nammalvar also sings the praise of Varaguna Mangai Deity¹ Varaguna Maharaja reigned from 765 to 815 A.D. He was also known as Māran Sadayan, Nedunjadayan Nedumāran and

¹ புளிங்குடிக் கிடந்து வாகுண மங்கை யிருந்து
வைகுந தத்துள நின்று தெளிந்தான் சிறதை
யகங்கழி யாதே எனையாள்வாய

(Tiru 9 2. 4)

atila Parāntaka (I) These references point to the probability that Sri Nammalvar was a contemporary of Varaguna Maharaja and also of Sri Periya alvar Sri Nammalvar also specially mentions¹ that the compound walls of the Tirukkannapuram temple were built of cutstone. A special mention of it warrants the inference that in older times the compound walls would have been of burnt brick. Building with cutstone commenced sometime after construction of cave temples hewn out of rock had become common and therefore would have been a feature of the eighth century.

Tirumangai alvar

Tirumangai ālvār —The period in which he flourished is usually fixed with reference to two historical incidents referred to by him in his Periya Tirumoli. In 2 8-10 he says that the Deity Ashṭa bhujakaran is in Kaohchi (Kāñchipuram) where reigned at that time one (Nilmudi Malai) Vairamōghan to whom the King of the Tondaiyars (a Pallava) was paying obeisance. Kaohchi was twice conquered from the Pallavas—once from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (710-775 A.D.) by the Chalukya King Vikramarka II in 741-746 for a second time from Nandivarman's successor Danti Varman (775-826 A.D.) by the Rashtrakūta King Govinda

1

சுலப பல்லவ மஹேந்திர பிள்ளை அவர்கள்

சொல்லுகிறார்.

(Tir. 9 10 10.)

III in 804 A.D. In 746 Nandivarman reconquered the place from Vikramaditya and did not therefore continue it to be subordinate to Vikramaditya. But Dantivarman submitted to the Rashtrakuta King by paying a tribute. Perhaps Govinda III was also known as Vairamēgha. It may therefore be taken that Tirumangai ālvar refers to the incident in 804 A.D. He was therefore a contemporary of Dantivarman. The other reference is contained in the ten verses about the Deity in Paramesvara Vinnagaram (Periya Tirumoli 2-9) ten verses. In the first verse the following occurs.

பல்லவன விலலவன எனறு உலகில
பலராய்ப பலவேந்தா வணங்குகழல
பல்லவன் மல்லவர் கோன்பணிந்த
பரமேசுர விண ணகரமதுவே. (2. 9. 1.)

There is the further information in the next verse

தோமன்னு தென்னவனை முனையில செருவில
திறல்வாட் டியதின் சிலையோன்
பார்மன்னு பல்லவர் கோன்பணிந்த
பரமேசு சுரவிண ணகரமதுவே. (2. 9. 2.)

A Pallava King is said to have defeated a 'Tennavan' Southern King (meaning Pandya King) in past time and the Pallava King who defeated him is said to have worshipped (also in the past) the Deity in the Paramesvara Vinnagaram temple. Early accounts of South Indian History tell us that Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (710-775) conquered the countries of Vallabha, Kalabra, Kērala, Pandya, Chōla, Tuluva and Konkana. So far as Tirumangai alvar is concerned the conquest of

Pandya was an incident at some past date by Nandivarman II. We may therefore assume that Tirumangai alvar flourished sometime after 775 A.D. and that he was not a contemporary of Nandivarman II but only of his successor Dantivarman (775-826 A.D.). There is one observation worth making. It is strange that he has not said one word about Periya alvar, Sri Āṇḍal, Madhurakavi and Sri Nammalvar. They were not perhaps considered great religious leaders in those days or Tirumangai alvar had not a high regard for the kings and people of the extreme South. He calls Varaguna Maharajah by the name *Qṣaravara* (the man of the South) which is not quite a respectable way of referring to a king. The same indifference may have been shown by him to the religious leaders of the South. He did not visit Srivilliputtur and Tirukkurukur (Alvar Tirunagari).

The order of succession of the ālvārs as deduced from incidents mentioned in their songs is shown in column 7 of the chart.



CHAPTER XXIII—(*Contd.*)

SECTION—2.

TIRUMOLI RECITAL IN TIRUMALAI-TIRUPATI, TEMPLES

In this section an attempt will be made to trace the stages by which the recital of the Prabandham of the Alvārs was introduced in the Tirupatī and the Tirumalai temples.

The first attempt was made by some one whose name is not given in the incomplete inscription (I. 61) but who endowed lands for which the Kaik-kolars attached to the temples of Sri Govindarajaswami and Sri Venkatesvaraswami were made the permanent tenants who were to deliver annually certain quantities of paddy from the lands which were in their enjoyment for the purpose of making food offerings to Sri Govindaraja during the annual Vaikāṣī festival for eight days i.e. from the second to the ninth day in connection with the recitation of Tirumoli (called Tirumolippaḍi) and to Sri Venkateswaraswami for Nīmandam during the annual Chittirai festival. The inscription (I. 61) is dated the fourth regnal year of Vijayagandagopala and is to be found behind the Dvāipala on the proper right side of the entrance into the shrine. A few letters at the commencement of each line are stated to be covered by a stone pillar. Vijayagandagopala's

reign is presumed to extend from 1250 to 1285 A.D. The date of the inscription may therefore be taken to be 1253 A.D. He was not however the ruler of the Tirupati region at that time as Sri Vira Narasīngayadavaraya continued to be the ruler till 1265 A.D. The latter made in 1234 A.D. a golden Sīkharam for the four faced wooden car of Sri Govindaraja (L 86). It is not known whether within this period he was at any time conquered by Vijayagandagopala. It is also stated in this inscription that there was a Chittirai annual festival in Tirumalai. It is only from a much later inscription (V 129 p 354 dated 8th July 1551) that we learn that this Chittirai festival was instituted by an accountant of the Temple whose name ends with Mēludaiyar (கண்டையர்செயல் மேலுடைர் கடவுள் சித்திரை திருவிழா).

Tiruppavai recital in Tirumalai (about 1250-55)

The recital of Tirumoli was commenced in 1253 A.D. in Tirupati only but not in Tirumalai. It is not stated whether the recital was done in street procession or in the temple itself. With the above inscription may be linked another one (I 74) of which the first portion is missing and therefore the year could not be stated. But as the endowment was made in the shape of gold coins called Ganda gopalan madai (గండాగోపాలం మాదై, கண்டகோபாலம் மடை) it is reasonable to presume that it was made sometime during his reign (1250-1285). The inscription is now found on the north wall of the third prakaram of the Tirumalai temple. We have

reasons to believe that some of the inscribed stones which were on the old prakaram walls of the Tirumalai temple were not properly reset in their original position when the renovation of the temple and the prakaram walls was made under Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya's orders about 1250 A D. Stray ones found their place subsequently in all odd places. This inscribed stone is one such. It may therefore be assigned a date about 1250-1255 A D. The inscription gives the information that Tiruppavai was sung in Tirumalai during the Chittirai festival. Being a composition of 30 verses only it was sung perhaps when the utsava murti was in āsthanam or dubai. The food offering made in this connection was called Tiruppāvaippadī (తిరుప్పావై పద). Tirumoli however was not sung then in Tirumalai, nor was Tiruvaymoli. This was done perhaps soon after the renovation of the temple in 1250 A D. (Vide I 88)

We may remind ourselves here that the commentaries (Vyākhyānam) for the several portions which compose the Tamil Prabandham excepting the first one for Tiruvaymoli were made by different ācharyas from time to time but all of them later than the one for Tiruvaymoli. For facilitating memorising, among other reasons, Adhyayanotsavam was taken advantage of to recite the Tiruvaymoli in particular on a footing of equality with the Vedas. It would therefore be natural to expect that the Tiruvaymoli should have been the first to be recited in Tirumalai.

and Tirupati. Such was not the case. The recitation of Tirumoli and Tiruppaval however happen to be the first attempts. The reason is not far to seek. It would have been a difficult matter to train a choir of singers to recite the 1102 verses of Tiruvāymoli. Those were days when there were no printed books and cadgeon leaf books too would have been rare as copying would have been a laborious task. So the shorter pieces of the Prabandham seem to have been selected for recitation. There is also the fact that Prabandham recital was not an enterprise of the local residents. It was an exotic adventure which had to be carefully nurtured. There was not in those days an indigenuous Sri Vaishnava population worth mentioning in Tirupati and Tirumalai. Strict measures had to be adopted to compel Sri Vaishnavas to build houses and reside in Tirupati if they desired to do service in the Tirumalai temple. They had also to feel satisfied with the kind and quantity of food which the temple supplied. Therefore for the recitation of the Alvars songs Sri Vaishnavas had to be got from other places during the festivals and endowments were made to provide such men with food. The number of men so imported would have been very limited nor would all of them have been men fully versed in all the prabandhams.

After Tirukkurukaippiran Pillan wrote the first commentary on the Tiruvāymoli called (6003 padi) Aravirappadi Nanjiyar (Vedanti) wrote commentaries on the Tiruvāymoli as well as on Tiruppaval.

TIRUPPAVAI RECITAL IN TIRUMALAI

His disciple was *Nampillai*, also known as *Varadaraja*, *Tirukkalikanṛidāsar* and *Lokacharya*. He was also a commentator. For our history he may be taken to be one of the four bhaktas who prevailed upon the Chola king Rajarajadevar in the 19th year of his reign to issue an edict asking the inhabitants of the villages of Kudavar nādu to contribute annually, as mēra for the shine of Tīrumangai ālvar newly installed in Tīrupatī, 5 tūmbu of paddy per acre of land (I 40, 1234 A.D.) He was born in 1207 A.D. He may have been responsible for the endowment made (I. 61) for the recital of Tīrumoli during the Vaikasi festival of Śrī Govindaraja in 1253, he would then have been about 46 years old. He might equally have been responsible for the singing of Tīruppavai in Tīrumalai about the same period (I, 74)

Inscription I. 61 speaks of Tīrumolippadī but does not state which Tīrumoli was recited. There are four Tīrumolis. One is called Periya ālvār's Tīrumoli, the second is known as Nāchchiyār Tīrumoli by Śrī Āndal, the third is known as Kulasekhara Alvar's Perumāl Tīrumoli and the fourth is known as the Periya Tīrumoli of Tīrumangai ālvār. Although the suggestion was made above that Nampillai might have been responsible for the installation of Tīrumangai alvar in Tīrupatī it does not follow therefrom that he would have selected Tīrumangai ālvār's Periya Tīrumoli for recitation during the Vaikasi festival in Tīrupatī. Seeing that Tīruppāvai was selected for recitation

in Tirumalai, it may be presumed that Sri Andāla's Tirumoli was selected for recitation in Tirupati as it consists of only 143 verses. The commentaries on the twenty two works of the Prabandham were made by Periya Achchan Pillai only about 1280 A D and they would have been available to the public in general very much later.

Tiruppavai songs were not composed for recitation in procession during a festival but for recitation during the early hours of the morning in the month of Margali (Margasira). The probability therefore is that Tiruppavai was sung while the utsava murti was in asthanam or durbar and that immediately thereafter a food offering would have been made.

The above two are the only early instances when any portion of the Prabandhams was recited. In Tirupati it was soon after the presentation of the four faced car by Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya and in Tirumalai soon after the renovation of the temple. These would have been occasions which induced religiously minded men to undertake a pilgrimage and make endowment. Thereafter although endowments were made for daily sandhi food offerings and special ones during the Brahmothsavam festivals (such as the ones mentioned in I 98, 103, 104 and 106) nothing followed to encourage the recitation of the Prabandhams of the Alvars in Tirupati and Tirumalai.

TIRUVĀYMOḻ RECITAL IN TIRUMALAI

Third attempt Tiruvāymoḻ recital in Tirumalai 1360 A.D

The recital of Tiruvāymoḻ and that in connection with the Tēnāḻai or festivals is mentioned in an inscription (I 107, 26-1-1360 A.D.) which is on the south wall (inner side) of the first (or inner) gopuram in Tirumalai Temple. The inscription is incomplete and fragmentary, but sufficiently intelligible. It was made in the reign of Śrī Ranganatha Yadavaraya which commenced in 1336 or 1337 A.D. The name of the cyclic year is also missing. It was on a Monday, 10th day of the bright fortnight in the Tamil month of Kumbha (uncurrent with the asterism Rohini. The 26th of January 1360 A.D. satisfies these data. The endowment was for a cooked food offering (Tirupponakam) to be made when the Deity was at the Tiruvasal or main gateway, seated in a (mantapam) on all the ten days and after hearing the Tiruvāymoḻ recital¹

The wording does not warrant the interpretation that the recital was done in the festival procession. It conveys the impression that it took place when the Deity was seated in a mantapam known in later centuries as the Tiruvāymoḻ mantapam in front of or near the main gateway. The donor's name is given as "the Chola Chēḍiāyan of Kulatīlaka Chaturvēdi mangalam in Cheyyur

1 " . திருநாள்களகோறும்—செய்து அருள் நிச்சயித்த திருப
போனகம்—திருவாசலில் அமுதுசெய்து—அரு—திருவாய மொழி
கேட்டருளும் பதது—ல ஏறி அருளி அமுது செய்தருளும்—".

kottam¹ (குலத்தம் சதுரவேதியம்—செய்யுள் செய்து கிடைத்தல்) The description is enough to show that the donor was subject to the Ohola king and by race a chēra nobleman. He was not personally in Tirumalai at the time. The endowment stood in his name (பெயரே). So this attempt to recite the Tiruvāymoḷi was not made by the natives of Tirupati or Tirumalai. The donor did not take the initiative but it was some other person whose name is not given in the inscription. It is however possible to guess the name. It has already been stated that a little before 1360 A.D. the Muslim power was annihilated in the south by the Vijayanagar Prince Kumara Kempanna and that Sri Gopanna (Gopannaraya) the Vijayanagar Commander and Viceroy at Chengi Fort safely conveyed Sri Ranganathias Utsava murti from Tirumalai to Srirangam. The Prabandhams were recited there with great demonstrations after the objections raised by non-Sri Vaishnavas were overcome by Sri Vedanta Desika in a special assembly convened for the purpose. Among the younger enthusiasts of those days there was one Tiruvāymoḷippillai (also known as Tirumalai ālvān alias Tirumalai andan). He is the grand-son of Nampillai (alias Lōkacharya Tirukkalikanridasar) whose name we associated with the Tirumoli recital in Tirupati in 1253 A.D. Nampillai's son was

1 Cheyyur is a Zamin village in the Madurantakam taluk of the Chengleput District. Kulatilaka Chaturvedi mangalam is known by Utharamēru in the Chengleput taluk also known as Rajendra nōla Chaturvedi mangalam (Vide III 9 and 10).

TIRUPPAVAI IN MARGALI IN TIRUMALAI-TIRUPATI

known as Pillai Lōkacharya whose name is associated with Sri Ranganatha's utsava murti being conveyed to Tirumalai about 1330 A D for safety. Tiruvāymoḷippillai is Pillai Lokacharya's son. His birth was perhaps in Tirumalai and the date generally assumed is 1328 A D. He therefore seems to have been named Tirumalai ālvān. His unrivalled skill in Tiruvāymoḷi recitation seems to have got for him the popular surname Tiruvāymoḷipillai. He might have been responsible for the endowment by the Chēduayan (a chera prince) in 1360 A D. The recitation was not done in a walking procession in the streets but in front of the Tiruvāsal (the main entrance to the temple). There was no gopuram at that time over the gateway, but was constructed in the fifteenth century by Saluva Narasimha who made a grant of the village of Durgasamudram for that purpose and for constructing the compound walls.

Tiruppavai recital during Margali month in Tirumalai and next in Tirupati—1390 A.D.

The next important step was an endowment made by Sri Mullai Tiruvenkata jiyar in 1390 (No I. 187) when he had become one of the Sthanattar of the temple in addition to his office as the Kaitar of the Arisanālayan tirunandavanam and matham. This inscription is an instructive one. It states that in connection with the recitation of the Tiruppāvai songs (of Sri Aṇḍāl) in the presence of the Utsava murti (Malaikuniyaninra perumal and Nāchchīmārs) during the thirty days of the month of Margali

(Dhanus) this jiyar made a provision for daily food offering (Tiruvōlakkam) for the middle ten days of that month. The same inscription also states that during the Adhyayanam of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati one Tiruvolakkam food offering should be made on each of the ten days when Tiruppavai would be recited ¹

In speaking of the Tirumalai temple utsava murti the term 'Tiruvadhyayanam' is not used but only மாதழி மாததநி செட்டரும திருப்பவை Tiruppavai heard in the Mārgaḷi month whereas in reference to the Tirupati temple of Sri Govinda rajaswami the month Margali is not mentioned but only the words Tiruvadhyayanam days "திரு வத்தியேனத்தின நாள்" The inferences to be drawn are that in Tirumalai during the thirty days of the month of Margali (Dhanus) the Tamil work Tiruppāvai consisting of thirty stanzās was being recited daily and that there was no Tiruvadhyayanam that in Tirupiti Tiruvadhyayanam was being celebrated but not in the month of Margali and that the Tamil Tiruppāvai was sung for ten days in that month (which ten days not stated). The term 'Tiruvadhyayanam' has

1 Lines 2 and 3 திருவத்தியேன மகநவியினது பெரு ம ளும் நாசரிமாரும மாதழி மாததநி செட்டரும திருப்பவை யினாடுபபத நாள் நாள் எனதரு திருவத்தித்து

Lines 4 and 5 ஸ்ரீ கோவிந்தபெருமான திருவத்தியேன தத்திய (நாள்) திருப்பாவை 10 பத்தரு நாள் டுததத்து திருவத்தித்து Line 6 தத்தியுரை கோவிந்த பப்பபு எனதம்

always been applied to connote the recitation of the Vedas in full during the month of Mārgaḥ (Dhanuḥ). The commencement is on the first Sukla (bright) Ekadasi tithi of that month and the ending on the Bahula (dark) Panchami. This ritualistic festival was obviously not being observed in Tirumalai in 1390 according to the wording of the inscription. In Tirupati it was being observed but not in the month of Mārgaḥ. The custom in Tirupati seems to have been that the commencement should be on the succeeding Sukla Ekadasi which may happen in Mārgaḥ month or in the next month (Pauṣya). It is so observed now and seems to have been the case in 1390 also. This festival is principally intended for the recitation of the Vedas. *In Tirupati in addition to the Vedas, the Tamil Tiruppavai also was sung.* Whether the latter was on the same ten days as the Vedas or on some succeeding days the inscription does not state.

It is a revelation to us that Adhyayanam was not being celebrated in Tirumalai in the old days. This curious omission perhaps caught the attention of the Vijayanagar Emperor Devaraya Maharaya II (1422 to 1449 A D) when he visited the Tirumalai temple on Monday the 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīra in the Saumya year (Saka 1351) which corresponds to 5th December 1429. It was then the Mārgaḥ month. His remark made on that occasion to the chief Śrīvaiṣṇava of Tirupati (Tirukkalikanṛidasar Alagappirānār) resulted in an effective arrangement being made in 1433 (Nov,

22, I. 201) for the daily recitation of the Vedas by two persons. The arrangement was that twenty four brahmins should receive a portion of the income from Siddakkuttai village (a temple village) and that by turns two persons should do the service each month. *It is therefore a fact that till 1488 A.D. there was no recitation of the Vedas in Tirumalai even during the Margali month, when there should be an Adhyayanotsavam.* It was perhaps as a substitute that Sri Mullai Tiruvenkata jiyyar made his endowment in December 1390 for the recitation of the short Tamil piece known as Tiruppavai in the presence of the Utsava Murti. Even this Utsava Murti came to notice only in 1339 A.D. (I 104 1339 3rd year of the reign of Sriranganatha Yadava raya)

Sri vaishnava terms used in connection with Alvars songs.

At this stage it is desirable to refer to and explain some of the expressions and terms used by Sri Vaishnavas which are also found in our inscriptions in connection with the recitation of the Prabandhams of the alvars. These are given as foot note below¹

1 The expressions used by Sri Vaishnavas in connection with the works of the Alvars, and their recitation on special occasions such as festivals to celebrate their annual birth star.

Prabandham—The Sanskrit word Prabandham means a collection of outstanding sayings or works on a subject. Synonymous expressions are Alvar Pāsurams (அலவர பாசுரம்) Alvar Sei Sakthi (அலவர சீ சக்தி) Alvar Pādi (அலவர பாடி). The Alvars themselves did not give a Sanskrit name to their writings or songs.

TERMS IN CONNECTION WITH ALVAR'S SONGS

They called their composition as Pādal and those who have mastered them as Pādavallar (பாடலார்)

Prabandham is the word used for the work or collection of songs of each ālvār

Adhyayanam is the recitation of all the songs of an ālvār. This is usually done in connection with the celebration of the annual birth star or the Vītu Tirunāḷshatam of the alvar. The term occurs in our inscriptions for the first time in 1475

Iyal tuvaḷḷam first occurs in 1476 (II 68) and means the commencement of the recitation of a portion or portions of the works of the ālvārs. The reciters would join in a procession, make a commencement in the presence of the Utsava Murti at an appointed place. The songs will be recited in duet in the style known as Iyal (இயல், அயல்) as distinct from Isai (இசை, அசை). The Iyal or natural style is an adaptation of the manner in which Vedic texts are chanted. Correct pronunciation, punctuation, modulation and pause are its distinctive features. Isai style is singing to rāgam and tālam to the accompaniment of some musical instrument and with appropriate abhinayaṇi or gestures

Iyal Sevai (இயல் சேவை, அயல் சேவ) refers to the course of recitation. *Iyal Sāttu* (இயல் சாத்து அயல் சாத்து) is the termination or closing of the recital and is invariably done in the presence of the utsava murti at an appropriate stage of the procession.

Sāttumurai (சாத்துமுறை சாத்துமுறை) means the procedure observed on the closing or last day of the recital of an ālvār's works (Sāttu=close or shut down). The word was first used in our inscriptions in 1475 in connection with Udayavai Sāttumurai day in Tirupati

Anusandhānam is prefixed to the name of a person who regulates the recitation in unison by the congregation. The persons who could function as such should be proficient in the recitation of the works of all the ālvārs (or the Vedas where the word refers to the Vedic recitation) should give the start and arrange the order in which the different portions should find precedence and be able to exercise due control over all the members so that the effect of the recital would be pleasing and grand. The reciters are known as *Anusandhigal*

Adhyāpaka—means a competent teacher of the Vedas or the Prabandham. It is the same as Veda Bōdhaka. The word occurs only once in the year 1684 A.D. (VI 24).

and *prabandham*) The term *Prabandham* occurs in our inscriptions for the first time in II 68¹ 23-11-1476 which gives particulars of an endowment by one Sri Sathakopadāsar Narasimharāya Mūlaliar in which provision is made for the recitation of the works of all the ālvārs in Tirumalai in front of Sri Ramanujas shrine¹ When the ālvārs works first came to be recited the description laid stress more on the food offering made than on how the recitation took place. Thus we have towards tirumolippadi during the Vaikāṣi tirunāl from the second day to Tirthavarai (I 61 1253 A D)¹ Towards Tiruppāvāippadi during the Obittirai and Purattasi tirunāl (I 74)¹ The wording does not make it clear when and where the recitation was made But in I 107 26-1-1360 the inscription clearly states that the endowment was for the recitation of Tiruvaymoli and the offering of a padi (food) in that connection in front of the Tiruvāsal, or main entrance to the temple on all the ten days of all the festivals after hearing the Tiruvaymoli and while seated in the mantapam The wording lays stress on the point that the recitation was done to the hearing of the Deity and not far away some

1 ' இஃது இஃது வுபாதகம் உண்டாம் எம்
செருமனா உண்டாம் செட்டருளி

2 ' உண்டாதிருவா உண்டாம் திருவா முதல
திருவா உண்டாம்) திருமொழியை உண்டாக்கு.

3 ' திருமொழியை உண்டாக்குத் திருவாதி
உண்டாதிருவா திருமொழியை உண்டாக்கு "

where' So also in inscription I 187; 5-12-1390 the stress is on the recitation of Tiruppavai to the hearing of the Utsava Murti and Nāchchimāi in the month of Māgali " . . . in Tirupavai heard by Malaikuniyannima and Nāchchimār in Tirumalai in the month of Māgali " ..Beginning from the Panguni Tirunal on every Pushtipayagam festival day Malaikuniyannima perumal hearing the Tiruvāymoli while being seated in the mantapam "

Anusandhanam.

It is only in the last named inscription that reference is made in line 11 to those who recited the Tiruvāymoli in the words " திருவாய்மொழி அனுஸந்தித்த ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு ப்ரசாதம் " Prasadam for the Sri Vaishnavas who recited (Anusanditta Sri Vaishnavas) the Tiruvāymoli In the previous inscription the distribution of the food offerings to the reciters is not mentioned specifically. In later inscriptions these men are called ' Anusandhigal' அனுஸந்திகள் and the recitation is called Anusandhānam For a long time there seems to have

1. " திருநாள்கள்கோழம் செயதருள நிச்சயிக்க திருப பேனகம்—தருவாசலில் அமுதுசெய்து அரு திருவாய்மொழி கேட்டருளும் பதது-ல ஏறிஅருளி அமுது செயதருளும் .. ".
[I 107, 26-1-1360] For

2. திருமலைமேல மலைகுனிய நின்ற பெருமானும் நாச்சிமாறும் மாகழி மாதத்தில் கேட்டருளும் திருப்பாவையில் .. "

3. I. 223, 17-2-1446; " பங்குனித்திருநாள முதலாக ஸ்ரீ புஷ்பயாகத்து நாள மலைகுனியநின்ற பெருமான மண்டபத்திலே ஏறிஅருளித் திருவாய்மொழி கேட்டருளி . . "

been no definite expression adopted to designate the recitation

The Alvārs did contemplate the memorising and recitation of their songs and they used the Tamil word *ஒதுதல்* (Ōdudal) and those who did it were known as *ஒதுவர்* (Ōduvār). These words are still used by the Saivites who recite the Saivite Tamil works like Tiruvāchagam. Thus Sri Namalvar says—

மாதுவன பாவுடல் கோபன நிதன மினறி உரைத்த
வதமில் ஆவிர்த்த இப்பதது ஒதுவல் ஸாமிந் லாரே

Tiruvāymoli L 6 11

நிதி ஸாகவோன தமிழன இவைவா விர்த்துப் இப்பததம்
ஒது வடக பிழைக்க சமணையா ஞாலவாச் சம்பண்டே

Tiruvāymoli 9 1 11

பாட ஸாதநிந் ஆவிர்த்துப் இப்பததம்
பாடி வாகுப பணிமினதுவா தானகீன

Tiruvāymoli 9 10 11

கலை மேழுத்தவசம் கருவரும் கருணைந்த
மேனித தநிமுறைமையே கோபனரும்—கேவிக் கவர்
ஒரழி வானடியே ஒதுவநம் ஸாம்பவரும்
பேரழி கோண்டான பெயர்

Mudal Tiruvandādi 66

44

...

சமச்சேனதம்

ANUSANDHANAM

மாசுவனே யென்னும மனம்படைத்து மற்றவன்போர்
ஓதுவதே நர்வினு லோத்தா.

Second Tiruvandādi 38.

ஓத்தின் பொருள்முடிவும் இத்தனையே உறதமனபோ
ஏத்தும திறமறிமின ஏனழகாள்—ஓத்தனை
வல்லீரேல் நன்னுய்தனை மாட்டிரேல் மாதவனபோ
சொல்லுவதே ஓத்தின் கருத்து.

Second Tiruvandādi 39

“ நன்கோதும் நாலவேதத துள்ளாள் நறவிரியும்

.....

Third Tiruvandādi 39.

.....

..... மறை யென்னும

நன்கோதி நன்குணாவாரா காண்பரே

.....

Third Tiruvandādi 12.

Adhyayanam. Sevai, Anusandhigal, Anusandhanam.

Sri Vaishnavas however seem to have decided not to use the words Ōdal and Ōduvar in connection with the recitation of the Alvar's Prabandham. It may have been for two reasons. One, as hinted above, is that the words are in use in Saivite temples where Tamil songs are sung. The more potent reason might be that the Prabandhams having been considered to be as sacred as the Sanskrit Vedas and as it was settled that they should be recited side by side during the annual Vedic festival called Adhyayanotsavam, the recitation of the Tamil Prabandham on that occasion at least should also

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be designated as *Adhyayanam*. On other occasions it is called *Sērai* (சேரை) and those who take part in the recitation as *Anusandhigal* (II 135 26 8-1496) *Anusandhikkum Srivaishnavas* or *Sevikkum Sri vaishnavas* (II 68, line 14 end) ¹

Shrines for the Alvars.

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the Prabandhams of all the ālvārs were not recited together at any one time. There were no shrines for all the ālvārs in Tirupati. In Tirumalai no ālvār had a shrine whether within or outside the temple. Anything done to commemorate their name had to take place in front of Ramanujas shrine in the temple or in the presence of the Utsava Murti when He was taken out of the Garbhagriham for asthanam or procession.

In Tirupati the first shrine for an ālvar was that of Tirumangal alvar who was installed in 1234 A.D. Sri Nammalvars shrine which might have been in existence from earlier days was renovated and made a grand one in 1287 A.D. A shrine for Sri Āndal was cordoned off a portion of the Chitra lūta mantapam in front of Sri Govindarajas shrine sometime after 1308 A.D. A shrine for Kulasekhara alvar was built by Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar and endowed in November 1463 A.D. (II 36) for daily Naivedyam and for Sattumurai

¹ (சுந்தரபாசனம் பஞ்சமத்தொகுதி (I 222) II 11 also II (3 22-11 1476) II 122 2 4 1494).

celebrated in Punarvasu Nakshatram in the Tamil month of Masi¹ It was a one day function

Tirumangai alvar's Tiruvadhyayanam in
Tirupati, 1475.

The first recognition of the greatness of an ālvār by the Sthanattai of the Tirumalai temple was made on 20th October 1475 (II 62)² in connection with the celebration of the annual birth asterism (or Āttai Tirunakshatram) (kittikai in Kārtika month) of Tirumangai ālvār when the Tiruvadhyayanam or recital of his works took place This was also a one day function A new convention was then set up of the ālvār being taken in the morning to Sri Govindaraja's temple for bringing by formal invitation Sri Govindaraja's Utsava Murti with Nāchchimar to his own shrine, of giving the latter a ritualistic bath (or abhishekam) and food offering In the meantime food offered (on payment) to Sri Venkateswara in Tirumalai and appappadi, sandal paste, betel leaves with split nuts and a piece of cloth called parivattam first placed over the feet of the Deity³ were all conveyed from

1 ஸ்ரீ குலசேகர ஆழ்வாறகு மாசிமாஸம் புனாபூசம் சாதது முறையாக”

2 திருமங்கை ஆழ்வார கார்த்திகை மாதத்தில் ஆட்டை திரு நக்சத்ரம் திருக்கார்த்திகை நாள கோவிந்தராஜன் கோவிலிலும் தம் மிட கோயிலுக்கு எழுந்தருளி திருவெழிநம் செய்தருளி.. .”

3 “ திருவேங்கடமுடையாடு அமுது செய்தருளி வரங்காட்டி அருளிந அபப்பபடியும், திருத்தம்பளப பிளவும் சாததிக களைந்தரு ளின திருப்பரிவட்ட ப்ரஸாதமும் கற்ப ப்ரஸாதமும் . . .”

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Tirumalai to Tirupati At the foot of the Hill, the alvār would receive these prasadam and take them over in procession to his shrine. There would also be going on the recitation of his works (or Adhyayanam) throughout the day. In the evening there might or might not have been held a street procession of Sri Govindaraja along with the ālvār. By what name the reciters were known and whether they received any special remuneration are not mentioned in the inscription. The kartar of the shrine was Emperumanar jiyar. It records in Tamil the events as detailed in English above. In line 10 the following expressions are used "கிடவா கிழுத்தாடு நீதி
கிழா ப்ருணதம அக்காளி ப்ருணதம கிழவா திருவத்திடு. னத
தின திருநாசக அடையினே சிலவழித்தத்தொகைக் கடவாசக
அம் 'The portion of the prasadam excluding the donors share and the akkāli prasadam shall be distributed at the time of the Tiruvolakkam distribution during the Adhyayanam. The inscription also shows that the kartar of the ālvār's shrine was one Emperumanār Jiyar and that the shrine had its own treasury.

Udaiyavar Emperumanar's Tiruvadhyayam in Tirupati 1475

There was likewise a Tiruvadhyayanam festival for Sri Udaiyavar Emperumanar in the Tirupati temple instituted by that same ardent Sri Vaishnava, Sathakopadasar Narasimharaja Mudaliar. The endowment was made in favour of Yatiraja Jiyar the kartar of the shrine of Udaiyavar (II 63,

20-10-1475¹⁾ for the celebration of the Sattumurai (closing day festival) on the Attai Thumakshatham or the annual birth star day of Sri Ramanuja, Chitta in Chittirai month. This seems to have been a Tiruvadhyayanam lasting for some days. The inference is that Sri Ramanuja's Sri Bhashyam and other works would have been read and recited on those days. But no attempt was made to bring prasadam etc. from Tirumalai as was done for Tirumangai alvar's Tiruvadhyayanam. It may be due to the fact that there was in the Tirumalai temple itself a shrine for Ramanuja and there would have been a celebration there though on a smaller scale. The celebration of the Tiruvadhyayanam was in itself an innovation.

Sri Ramanuja's twelve days Tiruvadhyayanam festival in Tirumalai.

The two innovations mentioned above seem to have been made more as feelers for doing what followed next on (II. 68) 23-11-1476. On that date an endowment was made by Sri Sathakopa dasai Narasimharaya Mudaliar for the celebration of Sri Ramanuja's Tiruvadhyayanam in Tirumalai for twelve days when his works would have been recited to his hearing during the twelve days. “உடையவா எம் பெருமானா சித்தி மாஸத்தில் திருவழியெனக் கேட்டருளும் ஞட பனிரண்டுக்கு” In addition to this provision was

1 “உடையவா எம்பெருமானாற்கு சித்திமாஸத்தில் திருவெழிநதத்தில் ஞடடை திருநகர்த்தம் சாத்தமுறையில் அமுதுசெயதருளும்

made for the recitation of the works of all the twelve ālvārs (including Sri Āndāl) on the day of the birth asterism of the respective ālvar in the solar month of his birth (called Āṭṭai tirunakshatram ஓட்டைத் திருநக்சத்திரம், பஞ்சமங்குளம்) and for the observance of the monthly asterism of Sri Ramanaja. These occasions are enumerated in detail in the inscription which gives also the name of the works of the concerned ālvār which should be recited. The word used for 'works' is *prabandhams* (புரபந்தங்கள்). The recitation should be made in every case to the hearing of Sri Ramanaja in his shrine 'இராமன இராமன புரபந்தங் கண்டயவர் கம்பெருமானு ஈந்தியின் கேட்டருளி'. This inscription also tells us in clear terms as to who the reciters were and how they were treated in the matter of sharing prasadam. The dvija and the non-dvija Sri Vaishnavas called *Sāttina* and *Sāttāda Srivaishnavas* took part in the recitation and all received the prasadam due to them'. This inscription makes it clear that the Prabandhams were equally open to all for recitation in the temple and that they were not the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmin Sri Vaishnavas or of any one section of them.

Iyal

The expression இயல் காலத்தும் ஸ்ரீ கைத்தொண்டை (கைத் தொண்டை ஸ்ரீ கைத்தொண்டை) appears for the first time

1. 1100-13 கைத்தொண்டை ஈந்தியின் கருவாரை புரபந்தங் கைத்தொண்டை கைத்தொண்டை ஸ்ரீ கைத்தொண்டை கைத்தொண்டை ஸ்ரீ கைத்தொண்டை கைத்தொண்டை

but the word Iyal is not explained. The word இயல் (Iyal) is used when the recitation is made by a number of men walking in one or more lines in procession so that every word would be pronounced clearly but not to the accompaniment of any musical instrument. That might have been the intended meaning. The wording given in inscription II. 109 (17-10-1493)¹ brings out the meaning more clearly. The donor Soṭṭai Tirumalai Nambi Kumāra Tattayayngar constructed a mantapam near the south-east corner of the madil or prākāram wall of the Tirumalai temple. On each of the twenty three days of the Adhyayanotsavam the Utsava murti would be taken in procession. After going upto the end of the blind lane called Sokkar kōḍi and returning to the corner of the prakaram the Deity would be seated in the above mentioned mantapam. Those who took part in the recitation of the prabandham would have stood in a line called Iyal gōshṭi and after prostrating before the Deity and receiving the Sathāri blessing the recitation would commence. The difference between the procedure given in II. 68 and that in II 109 consists in the fact that in the former the recitation was not in procession nor in the presence of the Utsava Murti but before Ramanuja's shrine whereas in 1493 it was done in the presence of the Deity, and in walking procession.

1 Line 8 “ திருவேங்கடமுடையான் சொக்கா கோடி மட்டாக எழுந்தருளி மீண்டு எழுந்தருளுகிறபோது திருமதிள் கோடியில் தாம் கட்டுவித்த மண்டபத்தில் ஏறியருளி இயல் துவக்குகிறபோது திருவத்தியேசம் நான் இருபத்த மூன்றாம் .. ”

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Adhyayanotsavam explained.

It is not to be inferred from II. 109 that the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai was first instituted in 1493. In 1433 A.D. Sri Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaya II had made arrangements for 24 Brahmins to recite the Vedas daily (two persons by turns being resident in Tirumalai every month). The celebration of the Vedic ritual called Adhyayanotsavam would have been regularly celebrated since then. The recitation commences on the Sukla Ekadasi day in the Solar month of Dhanus (Tamil Margali) and the Sattumurai or closing day will be on the Bahula Panchami day of the same month. The period covered was only 10 days. It is during these ten days that Sri Nammalvars Tiruvāymoli consisting of 1102 verses came to be recited along side of the Sanskrit Vedas. The other portions of the Tamil Prabandham were tacked on later, the major portion (about 2000 verses) being recited on the ten days preceding the Sukla Ekadasi and some portion (about 1000 verses) after the Bahula Panchami day. The latter period was extended gradually from one day to three or four days. Thus the Adhyayanotsavam covered a period of 21 to 24 days gradually. It does not appear that the work known as Ramanuja Nūṟṇṇādi (நீரூர்நீர் நூர்நீர் நூர்நீர் நூர்நீர்) hundred verses composed by one of Sri Ramanujas disciples known as Tiruvārangattu amudanar (திருவாரங்கட்டு அமுதனார் நூர்நீர்நூர்நீர்) was originally recited but in later times

it was added to be recited on one of the days from 21st to 25th days

The wording of the festival as given in II 31, 16-3-1468 shows that the Adhyayanotsavam covered only a period of 20 days (two tens)¹ Vellai Tiruvōlakkam (food offering) was offered on the Tiru-dvādasi day (Mukkōti dvadasī) which occurs in the latter ten days of the Tiruvadhyayanam in the Margali month.

Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Govindarajaswami, 1485 A.D.

The next step was to celebrate the Adhyayanam as a Vedic ritual in Tirupati for Sri Govindarajaperumal and to attach thereto the recitation of the Prabandhams of all the ālvāis. There was already in Tirumalai this Vedic ritual celebrated annually from about 1433 (as already stated). One Nallār Angāṇḍai, one of the accountants of the temple and a disciple of Tiruvenkata Chakravarthi ayyangar, one of the acharyapurushas of Tirumalai, constructed a mantapam in the Tirupati temple and made an endowment (II. 83, 6-6-1485) for seating the Utsava murti therein on several festival occasions. The Adhyayana utsavam of Sri Govindaraja running for a period of twenty three days was one of the festivals. The portions of the Prabandhams to be recited are from Iyalpa to Nūrrandādi².

1 “ மாகழி மாதம் திருவத்தியேனத்தில பிப்பத்தில் திருத துவாதசியில வீடும வெள்ளைத் திருவோலக்கம் ”

2. மேர்விரதராஜன திருவத்தியேனத்தில இயலபா முதல நூற்ற நூதாதி—இருபத்து மூன்றாகு ”

In addition to this there is separate provision for food offering in connection with the Āṭṭai Tiru nakshatrams of Periya ālvār, Nammālvār Tiru mangai ālvār, Kulasekhara ālvār and Udaiyavar on which occasions they would be taken to this mantapam (obviously accompanying Sri Govinda rajaswami) Thus the intimate connection of the ālvārs with the Adhvayanotsavam of Sri Govinda raja was established in 1485 by Nallar Angāndai's endowment. The co-operation of Kumara Tattay yangar the representative of the Prathamācharya purushas, was probably secured by tacking on to it the festival of 'repairing the pathway to the water fall for they Tappir amudu function (II 85) It a fragmentar is inscription but possibly of the date as the same former

In Aug 1488 (II 89) ono Vignesvara Sriman, an accountant of the temple and disciple of Kumara Tattayyangar installed in the Udaiyavar shrine an idol of Raghunatha (Sri Rama) and endowed for its daily worship and also the celebration of a large number of monthly and annual calendar days. The significance of this is that at any time the Udaiyavar temple could be freed from the control of the Sthanattar. The recitation of Tiruppalli oluchelu and Tirumoli was a special feature. Food offerings were made to Sri Govindaraja and Sri Venkatesvara on special occasions.

Adhvayanotsavam in Tirumalai 1491

The celebration of the Adhvayanotsavam in Tirumalai itself (for 23 days) is seen from an

endowment made by one Pāsindi Venkattaturaivar, alias jiyar Ramanuja ayyan, (II. 95, 27-6-1491)¹. Herein Jiyar Ramanuja ayyan associates himself with the festival of Tannīramudu which commemorates the tradition that Sri Tirumalai nambi (the progenitor of the Prathamacharya purusha family of which Kumara Tatayyangar was the most prominent member at that time) was throughout his life time bringing daily a pot of water from the Akāsa ganga water-fall for the abhishekam and puja of Sri Venkatesvara. The same inscription refers to the publication in open assembly in the Tirumalai Temple of a work called Venkatachala Mahatmyam which the jiyar compiled. Again Yatiraja jiyar, kartar of a private flower garden called the Malai-kuniyanīnraṇ Nandavanam made an endowment (II. 107, 21-8-1493) for special food offering on the third day of the second ten days of the Adhyayana-utsavam in Tirumalai (called Olivilkāla chiappu)². The Prabandham reciters were not given any share in the prasadams.

As was already discussed at length the most note-worthy endowment (II 109, 17-10-1493) was

1 திருவேங்கடமுடையானுகு தமமிட உபயமாக மாகழி மாதம் திருவழியேனத்தில சடைக்கோழி நாசசியார திருவத்தியேனத்தில மறறை நாள தண்ணீர் அமுதுவழி திருத்துகிற்போது அமுது செயதருளும் திருப்பாவாடை . ”.

2 The tradition is that consequent on the hearing of an exposition of the ten verses by Sri Alavandar, Tirumalai Nambi went over to Tirumalai and commenced doing the service of bringing water from Akāsa Ganga

made by Soṭṭai Tirumalai nambī Kumāra Tatay yangar because it made the recitation of the Prabandham an organised affair with a definite place where the commencement should be made not only on all the 28 days of the Adhyayanotsavam but on 41 other festival occasions as well. Thus the Iyal recitation in walking procession came to be as important as the Vedas during all festivals and it was made to commence with the blessings and sanction of the Utsava murti at the mantapam constructed for the purpose by Kumara Tatayyangar. But he did not set up the practice of distributing among the Iyal reciters any portion of the donors share of the prasadam.

Although the recitation of the Prabandhams in Iyal had become a regular feature of the festivals in Tirumalai and Tirupati the reciters claim to a share in the donors share of the offered prasadam does not appear to have been considered. Koyil keḷvi Ramanuja jiyar in his endowment II. 122 dated 2nd April 1494 (on behalf of his disciple Aruvilli Anantayyan Abhayan) for food offerings to be made on a number of festival occasions in Tirumalai and Tirupati made provision for the distribution of two appams out of thirteen for each padī of the donors share to the reciters of 'Tiruvāymolī'. But his example does not appear to have been fol-

1 Line 10 அருத செயலுயிற் அபய அநிலவு, உதத் து வீட்டித் திருவாய் மலர் துயிற் திருவாய்மொழி அந் துதத் திருவாய்மொழி அருதத் திருவாய்மொழி

lowed by other donors of the same period. One Periya Perumal dāsar, disciple of Periya Perumal Jiyar of the Pinsenravalli Nandavanam, did not apportion anything from out of the donor's share of the food offering provided by him in II 123 dated 8-4-1494 on the occasion of the Tiruvāymoli Sattumurai (Adayavalam) in Tirumalai in connection with the second ten days of the Tiruvadhyayanotsavam. So also Mahamandalesvara.....Narasaraja Udaiyar (the first donor from among the princes to make an endowment in connection with the Adhyayanotsavam among other festivals) in his endowment II. 127 dated 5-6-1494 did not distribute any portion of the donor's share of the prasadams to the reciters of the Prabandham. Other endowments of this type are II 129 dated 6-11-1494 II. 130 dated 24-12-1494, and II 138 dated 19-9-1504. The first is an endowment by the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanoor known as the Nūrrenmar (நூற்றெண்மா) or the assembly of 108 persons. The inscription tells us that the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai was only for twenty two days. The last one is an endowment by one Tiruvenkata chirukkan as the dharmam of Immaḍi Narasimharayar the son of Narasimharaya Maharaya which tells us that in 1504 the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai lasted for 24 days, that is from Iyalpa tuvakkam to Tannīnamudu tiruttunāl¹. On the same date there is another inscription (which is included in Vol III of the T. T. D inscriptions)

¹ (திருவத்தியேனம் இயல்பா துவக்கம் தண்ணீரமுது திருத்தது ஞா வரைக்குஞ் இருபத்துனால்கு அதிரஸப்படி").

III. 2 which gives details of an endowment by one *Anusandhānam* (அனுசந்தானம்) *Tiruvēnkatajīyar* of the Tiruvēnkatanathan Tirunandavanam. Among the items of his endowment were food offerings called *Iyalpa* *tuvakkam* *Sirappu* special offerings on the day of commencement of the Tiruvadhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai and also certain offerings in Udaiyavar's temple in Tirupati on the days of the monthly birth star of the ālvārs. Those who took part in the recitation of the Prabandhams were given a share in both places.¹

It will be seen that so far as the Iyal was concerned those who took part therein were called **ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள்** Srivaishnavas and with reference to the Srivaishnavas who recited each ālvar's Prabandham the term used is **பாடி**. The latter number would have been very limited. The difference in phraseology may be noted. The donor styled himself as Anusandhānam Tiruvenkata piyar. It is the

1 "Line 6 ஆய்வகம் மூல திருப்பணியில் பதினாறு
தங்க உடையவர் அமுத சேஷம் திருப்பணியாகம்

Line 6 'திருவடங்குண்டபுளங்கு பாக்கி மகத்
திய திருவத்தியமத்திய தியப்பா நெய்யுளா அமுதமேதரு
ளம

Line 13. ' அமுத சேவதருவினப் புகைதந்திய விடவத்
 திருந்தேறி காலம் கனறம் பெறவகை திருமகன்' குயவ
 டுவித்த ஸ்ரீமேஷ்வரிக்குப் புகைதம் பெருகடவர்க
 ளாகவும் " உடவவத் திருமகன்யதம் புகையா புகை
 தம் அருந்தித்த ஸ்ரீமேஷ்வரினா புகைநிக்க கடவ்களாக
 ளாகவும்

first time that such an epithet was used to describe a person.

Circumstances which helped Prabandham recital to gain ground.

It may be noted that Prabandham recital has been gaining ground from about 1468 A D It achieved marked success in 1476 A.D as the result of the combined efforts of Śrīvaishnavas of all castes In other religious centres there is stated to have been some opposition from devotees of other sects who were also worshippers of Viṣṇu In Tirumalai and Tirupati the case was different. From the days of the earliest ālvārs (say from about 500 A D) Tirumalai was exclusively a Viṣṇu Kshētiyam No Saivite saint has claimed Tirumalai as a place sacred to Śiva There were no Saivite mathams (nor even Advaita mathams) there The Vaikhanasa archakas were the only class of Vaishnavas who did not recognise the ālvār's worth They wielded great influence in the early days. But the lure of greater emoluments melted their opposition They were the sole Dharmakartas of the temple of Śrī Varahaswami in Tirumalai and of the Āṇḍāl's shrine in Tirupati which added to their emoluments. One member of that family (Śiṟṟappayan) was accused of stealing the temple jewels. It was during Saluva Narasimha's rule, that is, between 1460 and 1492 A D He was expelled from the temple, his properties and houses were confiscated then Subsequently the house sites were granted in 1524 to Śrī Vyasa Tirtha Śrīpāda Udayar

(founder of the Uttarādi mutt in Tirupati and Tirumalai) by Sri Krishnadevaraya Maharaya for building his mutt. The Archakas were consequently under a cloud during the rule of Saluva Narasimha. It was obviously during this period that the recitation of the Prabandhams received the recognition of the Sthanattar of the temple. Saluva Narasimha the ruler was far away from Tirupati between the years 1472 and 1492 and his trusted lieutenant in temple matters Sri Kandadai Ramanuja ayyangar, with the co-operation of Sri Sathakopadasar Narasimharaya Mudaliar Pasindi Venkatathuravar and Kumara Tattayyangar brought about rapid developments. After Saluva Narasimharaya's death in 1492 the weakness of his son's administration made further advances easier. His successor the Tuluva Vira Narasimha could not bestow any attention to the temple and its religious tenets as all his time till his death in 1509 A.D. was taken up with quelling insurrections in the Empire. It was during this period from about 1468 to 1509 A.D. that Prabandham recitation in Tirumalai firmly established itself.

The beginnings of the anusandhanam office and how it was viewed by some famous acharyas

During the reign of Immadi Narasimha, Sri Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar instituted a new festival (II 135 dated 26.8.1496). The Uthava Murti with the Nachikilmar was taken over to a distant place called Onnatondan pallam for a day and a

host of temple servants accompanied the Deity. Cash remuneration was paid to the twenty nine members who accompanied and two of these were called Anusandhanis (அனுஸந்தானியன்). This shows that Prabandham recital had come to be recognised as a part of the temple 'liturgy'; and recognition was given to two persons for doing this work. This enables us to surmise how Tiruvenkatajiyar came to call himself Anusandhanam Tiruvenkatajiyar in the inscription of 1504 A D. He was not one of the two Koyil kelvi jiyars. He assumed a different role called Anusandhanam. Others who took part in the recitation were presumed to join him. The Sthanattar seem to have had no objection to the assumption of the title Anusandhanam by a person but the donors were not obliged to pay a cash emolument or even a portion of the prasadam to the person. Several inscriptions¹ which record endowment of food offerings during the 23 days of the Adhyayanotsavam show that there was no distribution made to the Prabandham reciters nor is any person mentioned as the Anusandhanam officer.

One Mannar Pillai (III 29, 28-12-1512) made an endowment for a festival in his flower garden in Mannasamudram village where amongst other temple servants the anusandhanam officer was paid a cash remuneration of one panam. But such an office does not appear to have been recognised by

¹ III 9, 30-1-1506, III 11, 4-10-1507, III 13, 8-7-1508
III 14, 19-9-1508, III 16, 31-10-1508; III 28, III, 12-9-7512)

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all Srivaishnavas. In subsequent endowments for food offerings during Adhyayanotsavam the claims of even the reciters for a portion of the food offerings were not recognised, but food was distributed to all Srivaishnavas present. One instance worthy of notice is contained in the endowment (III. 97; 17-8-1514) made by one Ekāki Tiruvenkatayyan manager of the Tiruvaliparappinān tirunandavanam and disciple of Prativādi Bhayankaram Appāvay yangar (son of Vedantacharya P B Annan). He distributed the prasadams to all Srivaishnavas who took part in the Iyal and took no notice of the Anusandhanam officer. So also in III. 98 dated 17-8-1514 an endowment by Anusandhanam udaiyavar Koril Annan. He seems to be a rival claimant for the Anusandhanam office. தியாக சேஷிக்கும் ஸ்ரீகண்ணப்பர்களுக்கும் எம்பெருமானார் ஸேவையில் திருப்பாவை திருப்புகளி எழுப்பி அனுசந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீகண்ணப்பர்களுக்கும், தரப்பட்ட அனுசந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீகண்ணப்பர்களுக்கும். Yatiraja jiyar Kartar of the Nammālvar temple accepted an endowment III. 102 4-5 1514 made by one Sattāda Srivaishnava Pattar pirān ayyan for food offerings to be made on the 11th day of the Adhyayanotsavam in that temple and distributed a portion among the Prabandham reciters. 'புரப்பிதம் அனுசந்தித்த ஸ்ரீகண்ணப்பர்' " One Kārnika Bhasavarasar made an endowment (III. 105 12-9-1515) for taking out the Uṭṭava Murti in Tirumalai to his garden. The temple servants who accompanied the Deity were paid in cash for the extra labour involved. Among these were two anusandhanis who were paid two

panams It is probable that one was the agent for the recitation of the Vedas and the other for the Prabandham.

In the mean time Anusandhanam Tiruvenkata jiyar of the Tiruvenkatanathan nandavanam who made an endowment on (III 2) 19-9-1504 which provided for the distribution of a decent portion of the donor's share of the prasadams and panyarams to Iyal reciters (one prasadam, two appams, two atirasams and one akkalı mandai per day) became one of the Koyıl kelvi jiyars and therefore one of the Sthanattars of the temple He made another endowment (III 107) on 9-4-1516 perhaps to commemorate that event It is seen from this inscription that he was attempting to fraternise with the jiyar of the Van Sathakopan matham in Tirumalai by giving over to the agent of that mutt—the jiyar of the Van Sathakopan matham was not a resident of Tirumalai—a portion of the donor's share of the food offerings ignoring in this manner the claims of the numerous nandavanam jiyars resident in Tirumalai and Tirupati There might have been some jealousy displayed by the other nandavanam jiyars which made Tiruvenkata jiyar to retaliate in this manner. The Koyıl kelvi jiyars were also cultivating nandavanams and playing the part of respectable pilgrim receivers. The other Jiyar's were all competitors in the same field Tiruvenkata jiyar might have looked to the help and co-operation of the absentee Van Sathakopan jiyar in his possible desire to be the anusandha-

nam officer in addition to the Koyil kelvi office to which he had been recently called. But the jiyar of the Van Sathakopan mutt, Srīman Narayana jiyar did not reciprocate. He made two endowments (III. 110, 20-^c-1516 and III. 114 7-11-1516) which were in connection with the Adhyayanotsavams of Sri Venkatesvara, Sri Govindaraja, the ālvārs (Nammalvar Tirumangai alvar and Kula sek'hara alvar) and Sri Udayavar. There were food offerings made on these occasions. But no portion of the donors share was given to Koyil kelvi Tiruvenkata jiyar nor even to the Prabandham reciters in those temples. He made only these two endowments. They were probably intended to show that while he was not behind the Koyil kelvi and any of the other jiyars in making the Prabandham recital a permanent feature of the Tirumalai temple he had no desire to entangle himself and his disciples in the unseemly wrangle for the anusandhanam office and its probable emoluments. The anusandhanam would commence the recital in a formal manner he would select the portions to be recited and keep order. Therefore there was a glamour about the office if one such had been recognised by the Sthanattar. One Sittamu setti of Narasingapuram (III. 118 27-11-1517) who was probably a disciple of the Van Sathakopan mutt did not distribute the donors share to the Iyal reciters. The temple accountants (III. 121, 31-10-1517) did not recognise the anusandhanam office while the Iyal reciters were recognised. But

Koyil kelvi Thuvengkata jyar continued to show his regard for the Van Sathakopa jyar even till Nov. 1520 as will be shown presently.

The famous Vedantacharya Dodda ayyangar Appai' made an endowment (III 132, 13-4-1519) which mainly provided for the recitation of Thumangai alvar's Thumoli while the Utsava Murti (Malai kuniya ninra perumal) would be seated in the Shrine of Sri Varahaswami on 40 days during eight Thukkoḍi Tirunals (Brahmotsavams) and also for the recitation of the portion of Sri Nammalvar's Tiruvāymoli known as Kilaroli-ilamai during the Adhyayanotsavam. The wording of the inscription shows that a portion—one atirasam and two sidai—out of 13 of each which was the donor's share was distributed among Srivaishnavas in general but not exclusively to the reciters. That this famous acharya preferred not to single out the reciters for preferential treatment is probably because neither the Vedas nor the Tiruvāymoli should be recited for profit whether in the shape of food or of coins.

An endowment by one Perumāl Mudaliar of Nāgalapuram (III 136, 10-9-1519) tells us that the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati lasted for 25 days and no portion of the donor's share was distributed among Srivaishnavas. Kuppa Venkatattarasu and Venkatatturaivar Siddhayyan, accountants, made

1 “வாயுமொத்தது ஆபவழிமபஸுத்தது கந்தாடை
வென்று மாலை இட்டப்பெருமாள் நயனா குமாரா வேடாந்தாசாரிய
ரான தொட்ட(ய)யங்கார ஆபபைக்கு”.

A special endowment (III 138, 11-12-1519) in connection with the Nurrandādi Sīrappu in Tirumalai and in Tirupatī during the Adhyayanotsavam. In Tirumalai no portion of the donors share was distributed whereas in Tirupatī a portion was distributed among all Śrīvaishnavas¹. In another endowment of Venkatattarasu (III 141, 24-11-1520) for Tiruppallī eḷuchohi recital no part of the donors share was distributed.

Koyīl kelvī Tiruvenkata jīyar later became Periyā Koyīl kelvī jīyar and an endowment made by him (III 139) on 6th October 1520 shows that he continued his regard for the Van Sathakopan matham by handing over to the manager of that matham the donors share of the food offering made in connection with the celebration of his own annual birth star Uttiram. In Tirupatī he had it distributed to the Śrī Vaishnavas who took part in the recitation of the Prabandam. In the next endowment also (III 140) made on 24th November 1520 in connection with the Tiruppallādu Sīrappu and the Ārāvamu du Sīrappu during the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai the donors share was given away to the brahmin in charge of the Van Sathakopan matham. In two other items of food offering the donors share was distributed to the reciters of the Prabandham (அந்நாந்திரம் ப்ரபந்தகாரர்) In his endowment (III 143 dated 5th December 1520) he is described with

1 "தொண்டிநாநல்ல தாந்தாநிச செய்யிய ப்ரீதெவனது
 டிசெந்திர ப்ரபந்தகாரர் ப்ர. க

the titles ' Srimad Vēdamārga Pratishtāpanāchārya Paramahansa parivrajakācharya '. Therein provision was made for food offering on a number of days of the Brahmotsavams and in the Tirumangai alvar temple. The Van Sathakopan matham is not one of the beneficiaries of the donor's share. It is divided among the managers of the Pankayachelli matham, Malaininran matham, Tirumangai alvar koyil jiyar and the reciters of the Iyal'. This inscription indicates the high water mark of Tiruvenkata jiyar's life, for by the month of December 1520 the differences which existed between him and the other Nandavanam jiyars seem to have been solved. There was no necessity to court the friendship of the manager of the Van Sathakopan matham.

How the Prabandam recital was viewed by some great Vishnu Bhaktas who were not Sri Vaishnavas is contained in Inscription (III. 165), dated 8th November 1524 which records a munificent endowment made by Srimat Vyāsātirtha Sripāda Uḍaiyar, Srimat paramahansa parivrajakāchārya Padavākya pramāṅgña, Durvādigarva saivasvāpahāra, Srimat Vaishnava Siddhānta pratishthāpanācharya and

1 " ஸ்ரீசுவேதேந்திர பஞ்சாங்க பரமஹம்ஸ பரிவிருகிசாசாரியரான கோயில கேள்வி ".

2 " இயலனு ஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு அபயம் உய் . " திருமங்கை ஆழ்வார அமுது செய்தருள பயற்றமுது அடைக்கா யமுது இலையு கூந்தனம் அனுஸந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பெறக் கடவராகவும் ".

Sikala Vidvat jana mana padmavana Saupastika.¹ He was granted on 12th january 1524 (III 157) two sites for building his mathams in Tirumalai and Tirupati which during the reign of Saluva Nara simha were confiscated from one of the Arohakas (Sirrappayyan) as he stole some temple jewels. He was also shown some other favour: by Sri Krishna deva Maharaya the grantor. He made endowments to Sri Venkatesvara and to Sri Govindaraja svami for food offerings on a number of festival occasions. These include the ones made in connection with the Adhyayanotsavams in Tirumalai for 24 days and in Tirupati for 22 days. The noteworthy point about these offerings is that no part on of the donors share was distributed to the Sri Vaishnavas not to speak of those reciting the Prabandhams. The Sthanattar and the other temple servants were given their usual shares. This shows that although Sri Pāda Udaiyar respected all festivals celebrated in the Temples he did not countenance the Prabandham recital to any extent²

Koyil kelvi Ramanuja jivar kartar of the Pankayachcheli nandavanam who seems to have

1 சீரப்பையன் ஊன் வளியுதகாநிபுரைய பத உதகபுரணஞ்ஞுரைய சுவாமிநல வல வுடைய திருநாய ஸ்ரீமதெவஜீவ நிதநாத ப்ரபிஷ்டபஞ்சரி யநாய காவ கிவநான னவபுரவ ரெனபநெரு னான கிபாகநித நிபாத உடயபநு

2 'அருத செபநுகி உடய சிவ விட்ட விஞ்சாந ிதநாத நெருடபநாடா

succeeded Tiruvenkata jiyai in that matham made an endowment (III 173), 19-7-1527—probably to commemorate that event—which provides for food offerings to Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindaraja and in the other temples. From the donor's share the reciters of the Iyal Prabandhams were remunerated¹.

Some of the disciples of the Van Sathakopa jiyai also made an endowment (III 178; 19-11-1528) through one Ulagapperumānāi of Paramesvara mangalam for food offerings in connection with the Arāvamudu Sirappu celebration during the Adhyayanotsavams of Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindaraja and Udaiyavar. They divided the donor's share equally between the Tiruppani Bhandarattar and the Iyal reciting Srivaishnavas. This was done probably to show that they had as much interest in the Prabandhams as the Koyil kelvi and other jiyars although their own acharya was not a resident of Tirumalai.

Change in the Relationship between the Koyil kelvi and the Van Sathakopan jiyar.

A close reading of inscriptions (III 143, 5-12-1520; III 173, 19-7-1520 and III. 178, 19-11-1528) shows that a change was taking place in the relationship between the Koyil kelvi jiyars and the Van Sathakopan matham. Tiruvenkata

¹ வீட்டவன் வீழுக்கட்டுப் பூ ஸாதம் வகை ஆழ்வாக்கள் கோயிலில் திருப்பாவை அனுசந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பெறக்கடவாக னாகவும் கோவில்தராஜன் அமுதுசேயதருளின் திருமங்கை ஆழ்வார கோயிலில் அனுசந்திக்கும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் பெறும்.....'

jiyar who was fraternising with the Van Satha kopan matham till the 24th November, 1520 ignoring the existence of the numerous other jiyars of his own tenets seems to have changed his attitude on 5th December of the same year which is to be seen in his endowment (probably on the occasion of his assuming the honorifics of Srimad vōda marga etc.) wherein the distribution of the donors share of the prasadams was made to jiyars of his own tenets. Sriman Koyil kelvi Ramanuja jiyar (probably his successor in office) made an endowment on 19 7 1527 which shows that although the food offerings were made for Sri Venkatesvara and Sri Govindaraja the donors share was not distributed to the Iyal reciters in general in these temples. They were taken over to Tirumangai alvar shrine to Udaiyavar Shrine and to the shrines of the other alvars to be distributed there among the Iyal reciters in those shrines'

1 கீட்டரை விழுதாரி வுராதம் உரை ஆழ்வாசர்
 கோயிலில் இருப்பவை அறங்கூறும் பீதகஜோதயம் பெரு
 கட்டவாசகம் நெய்தித்தாரை நகுத சேவகுளின்
 கீட்டரை விழுதாரி உராத இருப்பவை ஆழ்வா கோயிலில்
 அறங்கூறும் பீதகஜோதயம் இருக்குமடை பகைய்
 கோல் இருந்தாரத்தக்கு ஏதான மடபதி பெருகட்டவாசகம்,
 சிவார்த்தம் கோல் இருப்பவை கோயிலில் ஏதான தீயர்
 பெருகட்டவாசகம் கீட்டரை பதிவ குகநிய பீதகஜோதய
 கூற 6 இருப்பவை உரை மடத்தக்கு ஏதானவர் பெரு
 கட்ட 0 இருக்குமடை கீட்டரை விழுதாரி கட்டவர் உ
 கதிய அறங்கூறும் பீதகஜோதயம் பெருகட்டவாசகம் "

There was thus a new policy adopted with the result that the Iyal reciters in general did not enjoy the benefits. This might have been done with a view to make the ālvār's shrines places where also the Prabandhams should be recited on such occasions before food distribution is done. The endowment made by the disciples of the Van Sathakopan matham (III. 178; 19-11-1520) seems to express their disapproval of the above disruptive tendency. The trustees for this were not the Sthanattar but their rivals the Tiruppani Bhandarattar. The latter were given prominence in the temple by the Emperor Sri Krishna Deva Maharaya himself. In the eyes of the Van Sathakopa matham's disciples the presence of the Koyil kolvi jiyars as members of the Sthanattar was sufficient to make them veer to the Tiruppani Bhandarattar to whom they assigned one half of the donor's share. The other half was distributed in the temple itself among all Srivaishnavas who recited the Prabandham¹

On 31st March 1530 (IV 3) Kandā dai Ramanuja Ayyangar manager of the temple gold treasury and kartar of the Ramanujakutam made a large endowment providing for food offerings to Sri Venkatesvara and Sri Govindaraja on many festival occasions and also during the Adhyayanotsavams of Sri Nammalvar, Sri Tirumangai alvar, Sri Kula-

1 “ விட்டவன விழுக்காடு பூஸாதத்தில் திருப்பணி பண்டாரத்திலே டாதிபும, திருவத்தியிலே அனுஸாதித்த பூனைவழிகாக்களுக்கூ டாதிபாக பெறக்கடவாக்களாகவும் ”.

sekhara alvar and Udaiyavar. He did not distribute to the Iyal reciters any portion of the donors share, but had it all sent over to the Ramanujakutam to be distributed there to pilgrims. But Sri Talla paklam Tirumalai Ayyangar made a distribution of two atirasams out of thirteen per day which was the donors share of atirasappadi to the Iyal reciters (IV 6 31-10-1530) in the temples only¹

One Rama Bhaṭṭar son of Bhūtanātha Sishta Bhaṭṭar of Chandragiri made an endowment (IV 18) on 1^o-2-1532 for the celebration of certain festivals for Sri Govindaraja and Sri Rama when the Utsava Murtis were taken out in procession. In this connection cash payment called Tirukkalai valakkam (திருக்கலை வலக்கம்) was made to the temple servants engaged in the task. One panam was paid to 'Anusandhani (அனுசந்தனி). The word being in the singular number whether it refers to the person who recited the Vedas or to the one who recited the Prabandham is not clear. *The probability is the latter, in which case the policy adopted by Ramanuja gṛāṇ had the effect of uniting all the discordant gṛāṇ elements in Tirumalai to acknowledge one man to be the anusandhanam officer in the temple. Whether it was one of the Koṇḍi kelin gṛāṇ or some other person is not clear.*

The next endowment (IV 31, 3-7-1534) by Srimati Periya kōmmamman queen of Srīman Mahāmandalesvara Salakaraja Periya Tirumalaṇya

¹ திருமலைப் பிள்ளைகளின் பரிசு அளிப்பது

deva Maharaya and spiritual disciple of Srīman Koyil Kandāḍai Aṇṇan (of Sruangam) is interesting as it is the first instance of a member of the royal family making an endowment in which the recitation of the Prabandham of the alvars was formally recognised. She constructed a mantapam in a flower garden called the Varadanārāyanan Nandavanam (probably for the merit of Achyutaraaya Maharaya's queen Varadaḷi amman). *She provided for food offerings to be made there on some festival occasions. THE ERECTION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE SHRINE FOR THE THREE MUDAL ĀLVĀRS IS ALSO MENTIONED IN THIS INSCRIPTION FOR THE FIRST TIME* She made over twelve atirasams out of thirteen which was the donor's share of the food offerings to the Iyal reciters and one atirasam to the desantū in the Tiruvāḷiparappinān Tirunandavanam.¹ The nandavanams in which she seems to have been interested are திருவேங்கடத்து நினரூன திரு நாடகம, and திருவாழி பரப்பினுன் திருநந்தவனம்.

Iyal Sattumarai done at the Balipitham.

Periya Koyil kelvi Yatrāja Jiyar of the Pērarulālan Nandavanam and Koyil kelvi Vada Tiruvenkata Jiyar made endowments (IV 45; 19-10-1535 and IV 46; 7-7-1535 respectively) wherein food offerings to be made in Tirumalai and

1 “அமுது செயதருளின பூஸாதத்திலே விட்டவர விழுக
காடு அதிரஸம் யெ-ககு யிபல சேவிககும் ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள் அதிரஸம்
யெ ம திருவாழி பரப்பினுன் திருநந்த வனத்தில் தேசாநதிரி பெறும்
அதிரஸம் க.”

Tirupati are mentioned. Out of the donors share of thirteen in the latter endowment nine were made over to his acharya Tiruvāymolipperumāl Nayinar, two only for distribution to the Iyal reciters and two to the Pankaya chellī matham. From another offering a small portion was given to the Iyal reciters in the Udayavar shrine. The former inscription does not show clearly what portion the Iyal reciters received.

The second inscription dated 7th July 1535 is interesting for we learn therefrom for the first time that the Iyal recital took place at the Balipitham in Sri Venkatesvara's temple after the Utsava Murti's return from the street procession during the festival.¹ The old procedure was to recite the Tiruvāymolī when the Utsava murti was seated in a mantapam in front of the main door way of the temple (Tiruvāsal) after returning from the street procession.

Lakshmidēvi Mahotsavam no recital of Prabandhams

The Emperor Achyutaraya Maharaya made an endowment IV 54 dated 26th December 1535 for the annual celebration in Tirumalal of a new festival commemorating the marriage of Sri Venkatesvara with Alarmel Mangal Nacheluyar also called Lakshmidēvi Mahotsavam. In that connection payments for the recitation of the Vedas and the reading of the Puranas were provided (4 and 3 rel hui pon respectively) but none for the recitation

1. 1 re 4. ம. சுவாமிநாதர் பெருமான் திருவடிக்
கொண்டு வந்த பிறகு திருவடிக் கொண்டு வந்த பிறகு
தெருவிலே நடந்தது.

ENDOWMENTS & PAYMENT FOR ANUSANDHANAM

of the Prabandhams or Iyal While making payments for the paraphernalia and the persons composing the daily procession the members of the temple establishment were given cash. The anusandhanam was paid 2 panams in this connection Whether this amount was paid to the leader of the Vcdaparayanam or the Prabandham or to both is not clear. What is clear is that Prabandham was not placed on a footing similar to the Vedas and the Puranas in the marriage ritual

When street processions were taken out for the Utsava Murti and when he was taken over to gardens outside the usual temple limits it became the practice to engage the Iyal reciters as part of the paraphernalia and the anusandhanam officer, or head of the Iyal reciters was paid one panam Thus Rayasam Ramachandra Dikshitar of Kadalāḍi and Ramabhaṭṭar ayyan of Chandragiri (IV. 59 and IV. 61 dated 26-12-1535) paid one panam to anusandhanam in connection with their ubhayams in their garden mantapams during the Summer festival and a portion of the donor's share was distributed among the Iyal reciters One Ellappāpillai (IV 67, 23-3-1536) paid one panam for anusandhanam during his Brahmotsavam ubhayam One Ramanuja dāsa (obviously a Sāttāda Srīvaiṣṇava and disciple of Kāndur Appaiyaṅgār) in connection with his ubhayams on similar occasions (IV. 69, 16-3-1536) not only made no payment for anusandhanam but also distributed three iddaḷi out of thirteen which was the donor's share of prasadam to the

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Nāṭṭu Srīvaishnava Iyal reciters and another share to the Sattada Srīvaishnavas From IV 77 15 12-1536 it is seen that Vada Tiruvenkata jiyar was cultivating a flower garden which belonged to one Perunkondai (Penukonda) Virappanṇan, son of Lepokshi Nandi Lakki Setti and received a portion of the donors share of prasadam for that work, that Periya Koyil kelvi jiyar got another share and so on In this race the Iyal reciters got nothing

Attitude of Achyutaraya's generals and Chief officers towards Prabandham recital.

There are more than a dozen principal officers under the Emperor Achyutaraya Maharaya who made large endowments for the celebration of ubhayams on numerous festival occasions such as the nine Brahmotsavams and the 25 days of the Adhyayanotsavams (including the one for Udayavar) In no instance was a portion of the donors share of the prasadams distributed among the Iyal reciters¹

1 The names of the officers are —

IV 81 12-1-1537; Adalppam Visvanatha Nayakkar (the founder of the Madura Nayak dynasty) Gardener is the recipient.

IV 82 1st 1-1537 Krishnappa Nayakkar Recipient Pāraruḷḷa Nayinar Appal

IV 83; 1st 1 1537 Nichcharasayyar son of Sriśāmayyanga Recipient, self.

IV 84 1st 1 1537 Rāmibhajarayan son of Bhūtāratha Śleṣṭha Bhattar of Chandragiri Recipient self

IV 86; 1st 1-1537 Immaḍi Pillappa Udayar of Vengāparam Recipient Lower gardener Narayana

IV 88 12-1-1537 Satakaraja Elingaraja. Recipient his sister's Acharya.

LYAL RECITERS AND REMUNERATION

Instances when Prabandham reciters were not remunerated.

One Koyil keli Tiruvenkata jiyar of the Pērarulālan nandavanam made an endowment (V. 137, 8-11 1539) for celebrating Tiruppallandu and Nedumkēkadamai sirappu during the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai (செட்டிவாசம் and நெடும்கேதமாய் சிரப்பி). Even he did not distribute the donor's share among the Iyal reciters. There are also other notable instances where no portion of the donor's share was distributed among Iyal reciters¹

IV 110, 6-1-1538 Adappam Baiyappa Nayakkar, Recipient self

IV 152 31-12-1540, Periya Timmappan and Chinna Timmappan sons of Pasara Nayakkar, Recipient Sattāda Srivaishnava Tīrūt-tam Appayan cultivating his flower garden.

IV. 153, 31-12-1540, Dalavay Timmarasayyar (commander, Ghandagarī Fort). Recipient self

IV 158, 27-1-1541, Perunkondai Virappaunagal Recipient self

IV 159, 27-1-1541 Angarāja Nāgappan (body guard) Recipient self

IV. 161, 28-1-1541, Rayasam Kondamarasayyar Recipient self.

IV 166 5-11-1541, Saluva Govindaraja Recipient self

IV 170, 10-2-1542 Sālakaraja Singaraja Recipient his acharya Tirumalai Tattaiyyangūr

1 Sri Tāllapākkam Periya Tirumalai Ayyangar's (IV 155 1-2 1541) ubhayams for Tiruppalli eluchchi and during Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumalai

Ekangi Pērarulālayyan disciple of Prativadi Bhayankaram Emperumānār Appa grandson of P. B. Annan (IV. 156, 13-2-1541)

Srimati Venkatattar daughter of acharyapurushas Siru Tiruvenkata Chakravarthi Ayyangar (IV 162, 8-6-1541).

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Payment for Anusandhanam.

A perusal of the endowments made in Vol V of the T T D Inscriptions shows that whenever the Utsava Murti was taken out to a flower garden or similar place payment was made for anusandhanam as was done for the other services. Whereever Vedapārāyanam and Prabandham were recited the payment was 2 panams, but where Prabandham alone was requisitioned one panam was paid. The distribution of a portion of the donors share of the prasadam offered to the Deity was a matter which the donor decided according to his discretion. In some cases the distribution was made among all Sri Vaishnavas in some to Nattu Sri Vaishnavas only and in some to the Iyal reciters only. There seems to have been no hard and fast rule in the matter. The Anusandhanam seems to have been generally paid for but who the recipient was is not mentioned in any case. It probably was not one of the Koyil keivi jiyars. If one of the two jiyars was the recipient the fact would have been stated since both were members of the committee of Sthanattar and commanded influence.

In V 2 (27-1-1542) which provided for the celebration of the annual birth star of Sri Ramanuja

Periya Koyil keivi Yattraja Jiyar (disciple of Alagiyasa manavija Jiyar of the Perarajilan matham). IV 103 21-6-1541. Recipients Nattu Srivaishnavas Periya Koyil keivi Yattraja Jiyar and the gardener of Perarajilan garden. There is also a payment of one panam for anusandhanam because the Utsava Murti was taken to the Perarajilan flower garden in connection with the Vajrayagi festival of the Kal Bhahmotsavam.

in Tirumalai, anusandhanam was paid one panam. The donor being one of the Koyil kelvi jiyars, Vedapālāyanam was obviously not paid for. A portion of the donor's share of the prasadams was distiluted among all Srivaishnavas and other portions were given to Anandam pillai jiyar, Koyil kandaḍai Annan, kartar of the Alagiyanavalan matham etc

Anandampillai Appayyangaṛ one of the acharyapurushas of the temple who made an endowment (V 7; 1-9-1543) in connection with the 11th day of the Adhyayanotsavam (Kanni-nun Sīrut-tāmbu Sīrappu) distributed one prasadam and one appam out of thirteen which was the donor's share of the offered prasadams in Tirumalai and Tirupati among the Nāṭṭu Srivaishnavas who recited the Iyal Prabandham. Matla Varadaraya made an endowment (V 11; 5-1-1544) for ubhayams during Brahmotsavam in Tirumalai, also for Hunting and Vannimaram festivals. From out of the donor's share of the prasadam the Nāṭṭu Srivaishnavas reciting Iyal Prabandham were given one appam out of thirteen which was the donor's share. But payment was not made for anusandhanam.

So also Sevvu setti (V 12; 11-5-1544) whose endowment was in connection with festivals when the Utsava Murti was taken to different mantapams far away from the Tirumalai temple gave two vadai out of thirteen which was the donor's share for distribution among the Nattu Srivaishnavas while the major share was given away to

was a small portion i.e., two panyarams out of 13 which was donor's share to be distributed among Naṭṭu Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and dōsāntais. But the Iyal reciters did not receive special attention.

One Ramanuja Timmayyan (V 26; 22-10-1544) whose endowment was in connection with the Adhvayanotsavam in Tṛumalai did not distribute any portion of the donor's share among Iyal reciters nor even to Śrīvaiṣṇavas in general. The donor's share was divided between the donor and his flower gardener.

Aṭavidu Bukkaraja Aṭiya Ramaraja made an endowment in connection with the Mukkōṭi Dvadasī festival in Tṛumalai and in Tṛupatī (V 29; 19-1-1545). The temple servants who had to do extra work were paid therefor. But Prabandham recital does not appear to have been made. There was no payment for anusandhanam nor was any portion of the food offerings given to Prabandham reciters.

Śrī Tāllapākkam Periya Tṛumalai Ayyangar made an endowment (V 34, 19-3-1545) for celebrating the Sattumurai festival of Śrī Nammalvar's Adhyayanotsavam in Alvār Tīrtham, Tṛupatī. Payment was made to all the temple servants for the extra labour involved. The Iyal reciters do not find a place nor the anusandhanam. The donor received the entire quantity of prasadam due to him. He made another endowment V 47-A (1545 A.D.) for celebrating a Vanabhōjanam (garden party to

the Deity) Large quantities of food offering were made All the temple servants were given extra remuneration There was a payment of 2 panams for anusandhanam which would mean that Vedic and Prabandham recitation were both paid for The omission of this payment in two previous endowments of his was remedied by its inclusion in this endowment Thus annsandhanam was fully recognised by Tirumalai Ayyangar although there was some delay or hesitation in the matter There was however no distribution of food offerings to Iyal reciters

Kandādal Srirangachariar son of Bhavana charya made an endowment to commemorate the birth nakshatrams of his forebears and his own and the annual birth star of Sri Ramanuja and also in connection with the car festival in Tirumalai during Brahmotsavam (V 48 5 7 1545). There would have been Prabandham recital on these days There was no distribution of food offerings to Iyal reciters as such but two dosais per padi were distributed to Naṭṭu Srivaishnavas There was no payment made for anusandhanam

Araviti Bukkaraja Ramaraja Tirumalarajay an disciple of the above Kandadal Srirangachari or instituted a new festival called Pallavōtsavam on a grand scale (V 51 7-7-1545) There was provision made for Vedic recitation at a cost of 15 panams Tiruvaymoli at 4 panams among other items Anusandhanam was paid one panam The

donor's share of the prasadams was given away entirely to his acharya.

One (Potlapāṭi) Timmarajayyan (V 53, 15-2-1545) made a large endowment for food offerings in connection with several festivals. Although the major part was given away for special services the food offerings made in connection with the singing of Tīruppallī eḷuchchī during the Margali month were distributed freely to all devotees, and not exclusively for Sri Vaishnavas. There was no payment for anusandhanam.

Udayagiri Devaraja Bhattar (V. 66, 25-3-1546) made a large endowment for celebration of certain festivals for Sri Venkatesvaraswami and Sri Govindarajaswami in Tirupati. Payment was made to all the 'members of the temple establishment for extra work done in that connection. There was no payment for anusandhanam nor was Prabandham recited in Vithalesvaraswami temple. All the prasadams offered on the days of the Brahmotsavam were distributed freely to all devotees. So also Tallapakkam Periya Tirumalai ayyangar distributed freely the donor's share of the offered prasadams to the devotees in connection with the installation of Sri Lakshminarayana Perumal in Alvar Tirtham (V 68, 20-6-1546). There was no payment for anusandhanam. In connection with the celebration of the Vaivāhikōtsavam of Sri Venkatesa instituted by Tallapākkam Tiruvenkatanathar son of Tirumalai ayyangar (V 71, 17-7-1546), several special services were paid for among which 'anusandha-

nam 2 panams is one again in connection with Hunting festival one panam for anusandhanam was paid

Araviti Timmarajayyan son of Timmaraja in his endowment (V 7^a 21 9 1546) for food offerings to be made on several occasions has included one iddali padi per day on all the 120 Brahmotsavam festival days for Tiruvāymoli sāttu when the Utsava murti arrives at the main entrance on Vahanam presumably after the street procession It was also the occasion when the Tiruvāymoli was first recited in Tirumalai and food offering made in that connection (Vol I 107 26-1-1360) Perhaps the old endowment made by one Chedirayan was defunct and Timmarajayyan renewed it That part of the inscription which would show how the prasadam was distributed is covered by a mantapam *Tiruvēnkuta Bhayakkara Ayyā Bhaṭṭar* built a mantapam in front of his house in Tirumalai called Tirumolippadi (V 83 1-11-1546) mantapam where the Utsava Murti would be accommodated and Tirumoli sung after parivaṭṭam was tied to his head on payment of fees The dosaippadi offered on this occasion was distributed freely to all as was the old usage ' *சாக்கரமும் விஷயம் 11 1-11-1546* ' One panam was paid for anusandhanam *Sevva Nayakkar* (V 86 13-1-1547) paid one panam for anusandhanam in connection with the Hunting festival of Periya Raghunatha in Tirupati There was no distribution of food offering to Iyal reciters

In connection with the Hunting festival celebrated for Vithalesvarapperumal in Tirupati by the Prasādekkārar Mahamēdangal (V 88; 6-2-1547) payment was made for all other services Anusandhanam was omitted and there does not appear to have been Iyal recital Udayagiri *Devaraja Bhattar* does not appear to have encouraged Prabandham recital For it is found that in his endowment (V. 89; 6 3-1517 and V 90, 12 5-1547) making provision for payment to every kind of service for daily worship of Sri Vithalesvaraperumal Prabandham recital has not found place For daily Vedaparayanam 1 Rekhai pon and 2 panams were paid per month. But in his endowment (V. 91, of 1547) for celebrating certain festivals for Sri Venkatesvara, Sri Govindaraja, Sri Achyuta perumal etc., he provided that three prasadams out of every taligai offered to the Deity should be distributed to the Iyal reciters *as per the ancient usage*¹ *It is thus learnt from the above wording that Iyal recital in festival processions had become a usage and also the distribution of a certain portion of the food offerings to the reciters an established usage*

Sottai Eṭṭur Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasa ayyangar son of Kumara Tāttayyengar (acharyapurusha) endowed a large village yielding an annual income of 2000 Rekhai Pon called Periya Ekkalur for the celebration of a number of festivals when food

1 “இயல் சேவிகும ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு நொன்மையாக பிறசாதிக்கும் படி க-க்கு பிறசாதம் டு போககி ”

offerings were made (V 92, 3 6 1547) Phalōtsavam was a new festival instituted by him in Tirumalai. In this connection Vedaparayanam was paid 5 panams and anusandhanam 2 panams. For the Tanniramudu festival in Tirumalai anusandhanam was paid 2 panams. In connection with the newly instituted Brahmotsavam for Sri Govindarajasvami in Tirupati in the Tamil month of Masi anusandhanam was paid 4 panams. It is learnt from the details given of this endowment that during Brahmotsavams when Sri Govindarajasvami arrives in front of Sri Ramanujas shrine Iyal recital had become an ancient usage'. In the festival processions Tirumoli was recited and food offering there for made'. It is learnt from this endowment that it was the practice (presumably of Kumara Tattayangar and his sons only) to distribute all the offered prasadams freely to all those who were present on such occasions'. This privilege of distributing the entire quantity of food offerings freely to all the pilgrims was enjoyed only by Kumara Tattayangar and his son Srinivasa Tattayangar. The Sthannat

1 கடைபட்ட சாஸ்திரிய ஸ்ரீராமபெருமாள் நெய்தலையா பஞ்சபகவதம் உரை Vol. V p. 236.

2 திருமொழிப்படி திருப்பாவையம் 40

3 திருமலை திருப்பாவையம் அருட நெய்தலையா பஞ்சபகவதம் நெய்தலையா தாம விநாயகம் பஞ்சபகவதம் திருமலையா திருவார்த்தியம் பஞ்சபகவதம் 13; பிள்ளைசாமிநெய்தலையா கடைபட்ட சாஸ்திரிய ஸ்ரீராமபெருமாள் நெய்தலையா 3 தாமதாருட நெய்தலையா நெய்தலையா உரை

tar and the servants of the Devasthanams allowed this procedure out of their free will. The practice of taking over the prasadam to the Akāsaganga on the occasion of the Tanniramudu festival (தண்ணீரமுது வழிதிருத்தல்)—the transport charges being borne by the temple—and of distributing them freely to all including the Sthanattar and other employees, was started in 1491 (Vide II. 95, 27-6-1491) in connection with the endowment made by Pasindi Venkatatturaivar when the Tiruvenkata Mahatmyam compiled by him was first read in the temple¹ From Srinivasa ayyangar's endowment it is seen that the entire quantity offered by him to the Deity was taken over to Ākāsaganga and distributed freely².

படி 4, மாசித்திருநாள கோவிந்தராஜன் கோவில் உடையவா சநநதியில் இயல் சாததுவபோது பருப்பவியல் 24, அப்பபடி 20, ஆக இருத வகை தொன்மை எல்லாம் தாமே வினியோகம் பண்ணிக் கொள்ளக் கடவராகவும். ஆழ்வார தீர்த்தத்தில் ஞாலம் சுனையில் திருவேங்கடமுடையார ஞாவழி சநநதி வீட்டவா பிறஸாதம் இருநாழி சேவிகக வந்தபோக்கு தாமே வழிநடையாக வினியோகம் பண்ணிக்கொள்ளக் கடவராகவும்.

1 “.....வீட்டவன் வீழ்க்காடு பிறஸாதம் அக்காளி பிறஸாதம் உள்ளது ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலே சுமை கூலி இட்டு எடுப்பித்து கறிகாய தயிர இவையனும் பாகரு வெற்றிலை சாதனம் எல்லாம் ஆகாச கங்கையிலே கொண்டுபோய ஸ்ரீனாததாரி முதலான எல்லாரும பிறஸாதப்படக் கடவராகவும்.”. II 95

2. தண்ணீரமுது வழி திருத்ததுனை பெரிய பெருமான அமுது செயதருளி ஆகாச கங்கை வழியில் சநநதப்பாறையால் தொன்மையாக வினியோகம் பண்ணும் வடைபாடி கோதிப்படி இட்டலிப்படி சுனையபடி.”.

temple) shows that payment was made for anusandhanam

Post Talikota Period.

We next pass on to the period which followed the battle of Talikota in 1565 when the Vijayanagar Empire received a rude shock from which it did not recover, although it struggled on for about a century more. There were fewer endowments to the Tirumalai temple during this period. Such as were made were mostly by Srivaishnavas many of whom were in the King's service.

The Period of the Aravidu Kings.

The payment made to the anusandhanam officer during festivals having street procession and journeys to mantapams was continued even after the battle of Talikota. From two inscriptions VI (3) and VI (4) both dated 16th January 1583, the donor for the former being a resident of Vijayanagaram City and for the latter a native of Kunravardhana Kottam in Jayankonda sōla mandalam, it is seen that anusandhanam was paid one panam as in the case of the other service holders of the temple.

The next inscription VI. 5; dated *25th Sept. 1583* furnishes more interesting information. The endowment was made by Srimad vēda mārṅa pratishṭāpanāchārya *Ubhaya Vedantacharya* Kumāra Tātāchārya Ayyan son of Ayyāvayyangār and grandson of Tōlappāchāryar of Saṭhamarshana gōtra āpasthamba sūta and yajus sākḥā during the reign of Srirangadeva Maharayar. He was not an

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āchāryapurusha of the Tirumalai Tirupati temple. This is the first time in our inscription that the title Ubhaya Vedantacharya is prefixed to a person's name. It shows that being a lineal descendant of Pillan he had perfect claim to do so. His endowment provided for the celebration of a Brahmotsavam in Tirumalai in the Tamil month Arpasi, Pulugukappu Tirumanjanam on the Friday falling within the festival period the Uriyadi festival and for the reading of the Kausika Puranam in Tirumalai by himself and his descendants. Another interesting piece of information is that Tirumoli was sung during the Brahmotsavam and seven iddalipadi were offered to the Deity in that connection. It also refers to the ancient practice of distributing 21 iddalipadi freely to all Srivaishnavas in the shrine of Sri Bhashyakār (Ramanuja) during that period¹. There was also the ancient practice of the free distribution of prasadam (cooked food) in that shrine to all Sri Vaishnavas on the 12 days of the Brahmotsavam². There are other ancient practices also referred to there in. The necessity for making specific mention of these in the inscription might have been due to

1 கட்டவியாக வணங் திருமொழியாக வ (7)
 ஸ்ரீமாத்நாராயண சாஸ்திரம் ஸ்ரீமன்னித்யாருக்கு நோய்யுறாக
 கட்டவியாக வ (21)

2 அருட செயற்குரிய ப்ருகாரம் பகவதர்
 சாஸ்திர நோய்யுறாக ப்ருகாரித்யும வகை அப்பரி திருமொழி
 திரும வ (நோய்யுறாக ப்ருகாரித்யும ஸ்ரீமாத்நாராயண சாஸ்திர
 10 ஆம் 12-க்கு ஸ்ரீமன்னித்யாருக்கு நோய்யுறாக வ (8
 14)

TIMMAPPA NAYAKKAR'S ENDOWMENT

the fear or suspicion that as a consequence of political changes they may be discontinued on the plea that they might be new innovations. There was also payment of one panam for anusandhanam, small though the amount may appear.

One Venkamarasa Reddiar of Avilāla (near Tirupati) made an endowment VI. 6, 18-10-1584 for a festival for Sri Govindaraja in his garden mantapam and in that connection one panam was paid to anusandhanam. But no portion of the donor's share of prasadam was distributed either to Sri Vaishnavas or to Iyal reciters. One Avasaram Chennappar resident of Nāsilukkū village endowed (VI 7, 22-4-1586) for certain Vidāyaṅṟi festivals during Brahmotsavams in Tirumalai. Although payment was made for the service rendered by other temple servants nothing was paid for anusandhanam nor was any food distributed.

During the reign of Venkatapatideva Maharaya.

There is an endowment VI 9 dated *14th July 1592* made by one Periya Timmappa Nayakkar, resident of Vijayanagaram. There is a sub endowment in this by one Meykkōṭṭi Timmappa Nayakkar. The principal festival for which the endowment was made is the Adhyayanotsavam of Sri Ramanuja in Tirupati for twelve days. An interesting ancient practice is referred to here. On the 12th (or last) day of the festival when Sri Govindaraja with His consorts and also Sri Ramanuja arrive at the temple gate-way the accounts of the temple relating to Tiruvengadamudaiyan

would be read out' The village of Pūndamallī (near Madras) was the endowed village mainly for the purpose of celebrating Sri Ramanuja's Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati for 12 days The major part of the prasadam offered to the Deity was distributed freely to all devotees The Iyal reciters were singled out for on all special favours Anusandhanam was paid 1 panam occasions when procession took place¹

Koyil kelti Annan Ramanuja jiyar made an endowment VI. 10 16 1 1594 of the village of Devarayapallī (income 150 R. P.) for celebrating the Chitrā Purnami festival in Tirumalai in the Van Sathakopan matham This perhaps indicates that there was not even till 1594 any sectarian differences between the Koyil kolai jiyars and the Van Sathakopan mutt jiyar There were also other nblhayams celebrated in his own garden mantapam in Tirumalai such as Urayadi festival Sri Jayanti festival, Vidayarāṭṭi festival and others in Tirupati There were other festivals endowed for by sub-donors (Mādabhūshi Appayyangaṛ, Kuppayyangaṛ and Tiruvenkatayyan) Anna Ramanuja jiyar did not

1 கம்பெருமாளுக்கு திருவெஃகீழை வடம் (12) திருவாரோடம் உடைய தோதீதநாதனார் லுத்தம் உ கம்பெருமாளுக்கும் திருவெஃகீழைமடமார் கீழ உ பணத்தி செட்டருமே பாரி செண்பயர் உ (விம) the word might have been உடையது to elucidate)

2 கரு உ பசுதருகீர் ப்ருகாதம் பண்ணியாதீய வாய்தா உ லு 12-65 பருபாயிம உவ (72) உடல் உ (12)

make payment for anusandhanam but the sub donors did so. From this we may draw the inference that the Kōvil lakkī jiyar was himself the anusandhanam officer. The wording of the inscription does not show clearly how the food offerings were distributed. The Iyal reciters are not mentioned in the inscriptions, but all Srivaishnavas are mentioned¹

In inscription VI.11; 13-3-1594 being an endowment by an agriculturist Dharasī Nāāyanār Reddi for celebrating a number of Vīśeṣha dīwasams in Tirupatī payment of one panam was made for anusandhanam. The Iyal reciters are not mentioned; at any rate the inscription is incomplete in the concluding portion. Inscription VI 12; 19-4-1596 (Emperor was Venkatapati Devaraya Maharayar) gives details of an endowment by Silambidaiyār Setti of Ramāpuram. He built a shrine for Sri Varadarajaswami and Tirukkachchi Nambi in Tirupatī and instituted festivals wherein Sri Govindarajaswami was also associated. There was no payment for anusandhanam nor is Iyal sāttu mentioned. There was payment made for extra service rendered by the members of the Temple establishment. The more interesting portion of it is the one which mentions one Koyil kelvi Van Sathakopan Alagiya manavāla Ramanuja jiyar as a sub donor for the Chitrā paurnamī festival of Sri Govindaraja. The name occurs in two places, in one

1 “விட்டவன் விழுக்காடு ...பொலியூட்டு ... ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்கள்.. ..ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களே பெறக்கடவாகளாகவும்.....”.

as donor and in the other as beneficiary of prasadam¹ Both descriptions refer to the same jiyar. It is seen from this that a jiyar of the Van Sathakopan mutt or a jiyar who bore the name Van Sathakopa Alagiya Manavala Ramanuja was the Sub donor. There was no subsectarian import in the name. *There was no payment for anusandhanam nor was food distributed to Iyal reciters. The jiyar took the donors share himself*

The next inscription VI. 14 31 10 1606 being endowment for offering daily five Sarkaraippongal (Sweetened pongal) taligul was made by Hunu mayyar Annangar son of Lakkappa Nayakkar commander of the Vijayanagar forces stationed on Malyavanta Hills. The inscription mentions that the distribution of a portion of the offered prasadams freely to all devotees in front of Sri Ramanuja's Shrine in Tirumalai was an ancient practice and that in this case two out of the five taligals were so distributed². It is not possible to trace from previous inscriptions how such distribution made on some occasions grew to be an ancient usage (Tonmaiyaṅga)

1 சேயன் சேயி அந்மேயனடா நாமாறுந் ஈயன்
பேயன் டா செத்தா மாத்த படிநாடா ஐய சேயிநாடா
அமுத சேயனாது

கேத டட்டாச ப்ருதாச ப்ருதாச திட்ட
டா ப்ருதாச டு செத்தம் சேயன் சேயி டட்டாசேயன்
அந்மேயனடா நாமாறுந் ஈயன் பேயன் டட்டாசேயன்

2 அமுத சேயனாது சேயன் டட்டாசேயன்
பேயன் டட்டாசேயன் செத்தம் ப்ருதாசேயன் டட்டாசேயன்

From a lengthy inscription (VI No 18 dated 4-11-1614) during Venkatapatideva Maharayar's reign of an endowment by one Nōttakkāra Venkattayyan it is seen that a mantapam in front of the gōpura vāsāl was known as the *TIRUVĀYMOḶI MANTAPAM* and that on every day of the 10 Brahmotsavams Thuvāymoli was recited there and 132 Dadhyodanam taligais were made in all. On the day of the Vasantotsavam during the Chittirai Brahmotsavam anusandhanam was paid two panams. Iyal reciters are not mentioned as receiving any special treatment. But there was free distribution of a certain quantity of the offered prasadam excluding the quantity of 44 sandhi offerings which old but then defunct endowments had provided for.

Inscription VI 19; 4-11-1616 also gives details of an endowment by Mahamandalesvara Chinna Timmarajayyan for celebration of some festivals in addition to the old ones by the reexcavation of certain irrigation channels so as to increase the yield from the temple lands served by them. The services covered by the prior endowments had to be carried out before the new ones were executed. The old endowments are referred to by the epithet, ancient (தொன்மையான). The old endowments which were benefitting the reciters of the Prabandham reserved 21 iddali padī in Tirumalai and Tirupati during the Thuvadhyayanam festival¹ "Twenty one iddali

1 . . திருமலையில் திருவடிதீர்த்தம் . . . தொன்மையாக
புராணத்திக்கும் திருப்புகளாகி திருநாள் . . . புராணத்திக்கும் . . .

padi to be distributed among Srlvaishnavas who take part in (Anusandhikkum) Tiruvadhyayanams in Tirumalai and Tirupati. There was no payment of money to anusandhanam officer

Similarly Nōṭṭakkāra Nārayanan (VI 20 25-7-1627) excavated irrigation channels in certain villages of Kudavur nādu and increased the yield. The old services were given precedence not only in the quantity to be offered to the Deity but also in the quantity which had to be as an old usage distributed freely to pilgrims'. There was no payment for anusandhanam or distribution of food to Iyal reciters exclusively. There was free distribution to all devotees. This inscription was made during the reign of Sri Vira Rama Ravu deva Maharāyar. The next endowment (VI. 21 29 9 1631) made in the reign of his successor Sri Vira Kumara Venkatapatiraya deva Maharāyar (Venkata II) was by one Ramachandrayyan. This also consisted in renewing the irrigation channel in Vadirajapuram in Kudavur nadu so as to increase the yield and make old endowments workable. There is provision for observing all old commitments in the distribution

தருப்பநிலை தேவராய ராஜா திருவடிகளில்
 பூசாநீர் தருவதற்கு வடிகால் கிணறுகளை
 கிணறுகளை புதுப்பித்து கிணறுகளை
 புதுப்பித்து கிணறுகளை புதுப்பித்து
 புதுப்பித்து கிணறுகளை புதுப்பித்து (21)

1. திருவடிகளில் பூசாநீர் தருவதற்கு
 வடிகால் (2) தருவதற்கு
 வடிகால்

of the food offerings to pilgrims. There is no reference to anusandhanam nor to Iyal reciters. The next inscription (VI. 22, 2-1-1636) also in the reign of Venkata II, of an endowment made by Sri Prativādi Bhayankaram Annangachariar son of Alagarayyangaḷ and grand-son of Venganacharya is of interest from the Prabandham point of view. He installed a new Deity, Lakshmi Nāyana Perumal, and also Periya ālvai in Tirupatī and instituted Adhyayanotsavam in that connection. There were also festivals celebrated for Sri Govindarajaswami and for Sri Āndāl. A portion of the offered food was distributed to pilgrims and a portion to local Sri Vaishnavas. But Iyal reciters as such were not singled out nor was anusandhanam paid for. This endowment by an acharyapuriusha of the Tirumalai, Tirupatī temples made in 1636 is a pointer to the hold which Iyal recitations and the anusandhanam officer failed to have on men who had a stake in the customs and usages of the temple during those days.

The next one happens *to be the last inscription in the Tamil language and script composed by the accountants called Tirumira-ai-udaiyar and the old Sthanattar* (though reduced in numbers). It was made as if in the reign of Virapratapa Srirangadeva Maharaya by some . Ayyan (whose name is missing in the inscription but who was a Brahmin of Kundanāla village in Uravakonda Seema, on 15th June 1638 (VI 23). The only point of interest to us is that during the ubhayams in Tirumalai on the 4th day of each of the eleven Biahmot-

avams in his garden mantapam anusandhanam was paid $\frac{1}{16}$ panam and during the ubhayams in Tirupati to celebrate the asterism of his birth Mulam the payment for anusandhanam was 1 panam. There was no distribution of food offerings to the Iyal reciters.

The last inscription with which we are concerned is VI. 24 19-3-1684. This inscription was discussed at some length in Chapter XXII p p 885 to 889. The details of the distribution of the food offering in Tirumalai called Avasaram (sandhi Tirupponakam) therein made show a complete departure from the old practice. The Sthanattar had disappeared long before 1684, possibly in 1646 or thereabouts when Mir Jumla captured the country for the Muslim king of Golkonda. Those members of the staff who were actually doing work in the temple got each a share. The dosai padi was distributed as below: Singamurai 4 Dosais Papinurai 6, Peddu jyyangar 1 Chinna jyyangar 1, Sthanala varu 4 kanganiippan 1 (2000) Desantris (pilgrims) 1, 4 (name missing) Pandikavili 2, Uttara Parapattam 1, (00000000) Adhyapakas 2, Sundry 1 Vinayagam or free distribution 18 Vithavanna (Vithavan Vithukkadu) 1. A similar scale of distribution is shown in the case of prasadam.

The term Adhyapaka appears for the first time and its plural Adhyapakulaku denotes that more than one got a share. It is a Sanskrit word used to denote a person who is competent to teach the Vedas to others (Adhyapaka is equivalent to

Vēda bōdhaka). It was not used in any of the previous inscriptions as a name for a Prabandham reciter. The only possible explanation for the adoption of this new name is that after the complete conquest of the country and the temple by Mir Jumla about 1646 A D, all the endowed villages of the temple were taken away by him and that the daily services in the temple had to be carried on with the help of endowments of the kind shown in this inscription made by devotees. There was no land endowment. But gold ornament was entrusted to a private trustee who invested the sale proceeds of the jewel and from the interest which it earned provided for the conduct of the service. The old anusandhanam officers who were perhaps by usage receiving a portion of the prasadam and some cash during ubhayams were deprived of their earning. When a Maharashtra military officer like Ramachandra Dabirsa made an endowment it would have been difficult to make him realise that the recitation of the Tamil Prabandham by an anusandhanam officer was an essential part of the liturgy of the temple. A great pandit who could recite well the Vedas and teach others also has always been known as an Adhyapaka. So the Sri Vaishnavas of the day would have represented the reciter of the Veda and the Prabandham as two Adhyapakas and so got for both a portion of the food offering. This word has in the centuries after 1684 come to denote exclusively the Prabandham reciter and we therefore now call the Veda reciter Veda-

pārāyanika and the Prabandham reciter Adhyāpaka. As an analogy the change in the import of the term Emperumanadiyar from a devotee of Vishnu to a vestal virgin therein may be noted.

The distribution made in 1684 by Sri Ramachandra Dabirsa was not however the last word on the subject. In subsequent periods there were alterations therefrom which deprived the Adhyapakas of a share in the daily kattala. When free distribution is made in asthanam they appear to have received a share.

The continued and persistent efforts of the Sri Vnishnavas to establish a right for the recitation of the Prabandham and for a share in the offered Prasadam resulted in making the recital tolerated and even considered a very desirable factor in the liturgy of the temple. It was optional on the part of the donors to recognise or ignore distribution of their share of prasadam for the Prabandham. The efforts to obtain recognition for the nrusandhanam office did not also succeed fully. We have seen that Prativali Bhaynnkaram Appangarachariar nucharya purushn of the temple in 1636 did not recognise the Prabandham recital and the nrusandhanam in the festivals which his endowment provided for.

But usage was asserting itself in favour of Prabandham recital on festival occasions but not as a part of the daily liturgy of the temple. The festival kattu which in 1860 A.D. was conducted in front of the main gate-way of the temple in Tiru

malai gradually came to be done at the Balipitham inside the temple. There were also recitals held in front of Sri Ramanuja's shrine and in the presence of the Utsava Murti. But there does not appear to have been any instance of a recital having been held in the Garbhagriham in front of the Mūla Beram. Nor was there a daily Sāttunurai in the wake of the daily puja. These innovations were perhaps made during the Muslim and the British rule. But we cannot be dogmatic. The terms Vadalai and Tengalai, Pātram and Vāḷi Tirunāmam of either variety are nowhere mentioned in the inscriptions. Rivalry between the resident jiyars and sizers in Tirumalai and Tirupati for the anusandhanam office is indicated. The Sthanattar seem to have taken a neutral attitude in the matter. It was purely a matter for settlement by Śrīvaishnavas without distinction of caste. During the Muslim rule by the Nawab of Arcot and in the early years of the British rule it would have been an easy matter for Śrī Vaishnavas to establish new conventions, since no member of the ruling class set foot on the Tirumalai Hill. They were interested in getting the maximum possible annual income from the renter who was a Śrī Vaishnava.

NOTE—1.

Referring to the Tiruvaymolī recital in Tirumalai for the first time in 1360 A D (vide pages 1021 to 1023) an assumption was made therein by the author that one Tiruvaymolippillai may have

been the young enthusiast who lead the recital the basis for it being his ancestry The endowment for food offering in that connection was made in the name of a prince (செடியராயன் செடியர்) Chēdiyarayan of Chaturvedi mangalam of Seyvur koṭṭam As it was not directly made by the prince himself a further suggestion was thrown out (lines 11 12 of p 1023) that Tiruvaymeliṭṭalai might have been responsible for getting the endowment made While rereading the printed matter for preparing the

Index it struck the author that there was no plausible basis for this assumption, considering that Tiruvaymeliṭṭalai would not have at his young age attained to that eminence and fame which alone would enthuse people to carry out his wish or request There was however during those days Sri Vedanta Desika who by his great learning immaculate life and unparalleled service for the spread of Sri Vaishnavism had attained to the pinnacle of fame He successfully resuscitated Prabandham recital in Srirangam shortly before 1360 A D (Vide page 1022) He would more likely have been responsible for the Chediyaraya endowment for the Tiruvaymoli recital in Tirumalai also The only consideration which precluded mentioning his name in the first instance was that he was so high souled that he never sought a favour or accepted an offer from any one His Vairagya Panchakam is sufficient to prove this For establishing the excellence of the Prabandham he however induced his disciple Gopanna (Governor and com

mander of the Chengī fortress and country) to convene a religious assembly. Again for the benefit of a single person Singayya (Dannayaka) son of Madappa he composed his Tamil tract "Srimat Tatva sandēsam" [Inscription 104 of Vol I gives Singayya's name as Immadi Rāguttarayan Mādappan Singayya Dannayakar. The father's name is given by Sri Vedanta Desika as Mādhavan]. It is therefore more probable that the Chēdiayan whose territory was likely under Gopanna's jurisdiction had the endowment made in his name agreeably to or anticipating the wishes of the great spiritual preceptor Sri Vedanta Desika.

NOTE—2.

Vide Page 1038 (lines 23 to 25)

There are indefinite and even contradictory statements in the inscriptions about the period or number of days of the Adhyayanotsavam, what was being recited on each day and when Ramanuja Nurrandadi came to be recited. This subject will appropriately be fully considered in the Chapter on Festivals.



CHAPTER XXIII—(Contd.)

SECTION—3

SRI VENKATESVARA, SELF MANIFEST ARCHA FORM OF NARAYANA.

AND

VENGADAM HILL, HIS HALLOWED SPOT

Sri Nammālvāre firm faith that the Supreme Being has of His own choice and for the spiritual benefit of mortals settled Himself on the Vengadam Hill and that therefore the hill itself is a hallowed spot for mankind has been stated in chapter II p p 41 to 43. It was also mentioned that Sri Nammālvār alone has given his mystic reason for His manifestation as an Idol. That statement should not be taken to mean that the other ālvārs have not expressed the same belief. They have said the same thing but not in the manner that Sri Nammālvār has done. In this section (of chapter XXIII) the religious faith of all the other ālvārs and particularly of the early ālvārs in the worship of Vishnu will be considered at some length. This is necessary to show that from the earliest times Vengadam has been considered to be the most hallowed spot on earth for worshippers of Sri Vishnu and that the Idol on the hill has been taken to be self manifest Para Brahman to make it possible for bhaktas to do the archa form of worship for obtaining salvation without resorting to the more arduous

methods which were extensively practiced in the previous ages.

Preamble.

As a preliminary to a correct appreciation of the Ālvār's Prabhandams with reference to Vengadam a few points have to be borne in mind. The Hill is referred to as Vengadam and not by any other name except in two stanzas of Pey ālvār's Third Tiruvandādi (Nos 63 and 75) where the term Thumalai is used. The genuineness of these two stanzas is open to doubt and will be discussed later. The other names with which we are acquainted, viz. Seshādrī, Seshāchalam, Vēṅkatādrī, Viśhādrī, Viśhāchalam etc., do not appear to have been known to the ālvārs. These seem to have been in use even in the fourteenth century A.D.¹ They became more common after the compilation of the book 'Venkatachala Mahātmyam' about the end of the 15th century A.D. Even a cursory reading of the Prabandhams will show that the ālvārs were well versed in the Puranas and that they frequently refer to incidents connected with the different avatars of Sri Viśhnu. But there is not a single reference in the Prabandhams to any of the anectodes mentioned in the Brahmānda and other Puranas mentioned in the Venkatachala Mahātmyam which assign a reason for the manifestation of Viśhnu on the Vengadam Hill.

None of the numerous rivulets and water falls on the hill is mentioned by name in the Prabandhams.

1 These terms have been used by Sri Vedānta Desika in his Dayāsatakam and other works

dhams They are collectively mentioned as the cool and swift flowing tortuous torrents of the hill streams. Anecdotes connected with the sanctity of each water fall or stream seem to be of later origin. The ālvārs do not mention the existence of any village or of any other place of worship on the hill or nearby in the plains. It was either that none existed or that they were too insignificant to be mentioned. Even the Deity Śrī Varāhaswāmī has not been mentioned by any of the ālvārs nor Tiruchanoor and the Deities therein nor Tirupati and the Parthasarathyswāmī there. The names of Kings are not given by them (except by Tirumangai, the last of the ālvārs). They do not refer to their compeers or contemporary great men. Tirumalisai ālvār plainly states¹, 'My tongue will not sing a human being. Poygai ālvār says that he will approach only God's feet, will sing every day only His praise, will place flowers only at His Feet (the feet of the one who has the Chakram in his hand)—what care I about what happens to me.' None

1 'சரக்கொண்ட மானிடம் பாடுவன வர்க்குஞ் சூரியன்மா' 15

2 'சாடினும் தினனடியே சாடுவன சாடினோறும்
பாடினும் தினபுசெழு பாடுவன—குடினும்
பொன்னுழி யேந்தினுன பொன்னடியே குடுவேந்தரு
என்னுதின எனவே வனக்கு (I. T. A. 88)

சாடியும் விஷ்ணுயே சாடுவன் சாடினோறும்
பாடியும் விஷ்ணுயே சாடுவன் — சாடியும்
சாடியும் விஷ்ணுயே சாடுவன் சாடுவோரும்
சாடியும் விஷ்ணுயே (I T A 88)

and the only divine standard, had even cursorily the
 ornament the features of the Image, the divine
 command depicted them on and the divine weapons
 ... We have to draw the inference that they
 attached little importance to these. But they were
 devoted to Vishnu bhakti and their faith in Nara-
 yana as the Supreme Being was unwavering! They
 attached great importance to concentration of all

అంతా దేవతలను పూజించి - అంతా
 దేవతలను పూజించి దేవతలను పూజించి
 దేవతలను పూజించి దేవతలను పూజించి
 దేవతలను పూజించి దేవతలను పూజించి (I T A 57)
 దేవతలను పూజించి దేవతలను పూజించి
 దేవతలను పూజించి దేవతలను పూజించి
 దేవతలను పూజించి దేవతలను పూజించి
 దేవతలను పూజించి దేవతలను పూజించి (I T A 57)

Perhaps the consequence of my hard past acts (karma), the
 way open to me to escape it, is to seek salvation at your feet
 To reach it I want to worship with my sweet songs about Namō
 Narayana (T A 57)

నారాయణ పూజించి నారాయణ పూజించి
 నారాయణ పూజించి నారాయణ పూజించి
 నారాయణ పూజించి నారాయణ పూజించి
 నారాయణ పూజించి నారాయణ పూజించి (I T A 95)
 నారాయణ పూజించి నారాయణ పూజించి
 నారాయణ పూజించి నారాయణ పూజించి
 నారాయణ పూజించి నారాయణ పూజించి
 నారాయణ పూజించి నారాయణ పూజించి (I T A 95)

There is therefore the way (open to all) to obtain salvation by
 uttering ceaselessly His name Namō Narayana. Why then should
 any one go to Hell? (I. T. A. 95)

செவதுதநிணயும் தொழுநின் விழுநுடைய
செவதுதநிணயும் திருமாலை—கலங்கிழுத
தாமத்தால் மெய்கியால் தந்திரத்தால் மந்திரத்தால்
தாமத்தால் ஏததுதிரேவ எனது (I T A. 70)

கொண்டையுள் கொழுமின் விழுநுடைய
கொண்டையுள் கருவாலை — கலங்கி
சுருசுருச் செவியால் கருகசுருச் சுருகசுருச்
சுருசுருச் செவியால் கரு (I T A 70)

Worship Sri Vishnu as long as you possess the power of speech and till the body falls dead. Do it with flowers, with rituals, tantras, mantras and his thousand names. It will do you good.

சுழலெடுத்த வாய்மெடுத்த கண்கழனது மாதாள்
சுழலெடுத்த கிணையால் அருசு—தழலெடுத்த
பேரழி பேரநின்று பெண்களால் சேவநிலை
பேரழி செஞ்சே! உதது (II T A. 7)

கழலெடுத்து வாய்மெடுத்து கருகசுருச் சுருகசுருச்
கழலெடுத்து கருகசுருச் கரு — கழலெடுத்து
சுருகசுருச் சுருகசுருச் சுருகசுருச்
சுருகசுருச் சுருகசுருச் சுருகசுருச்
சுருகசுருச் சுருகசுருச் சுருகசுருச் (II T A 7)

When the tongue could not speak when the mouth could not open, when the eyes swim in vacancy and when those around in the death chamber in helpless sorrow give up all hope even then, O thou my mind fix yourself with cheer on the golden feet of the One who wields in His hand the flaming Chakram. (II. T A. 7)

மண்ணுலகம் ஆசென வானவக்கும் வானவனாய்
விண்ணுலகம் தன்னகத்து மேலென—கண்ணித
திருமாலைச் செவகை செவியால் கருக
பெருமையைத் தந்தொருத பின் (II. T A. 90)

వల్ల నీ పదం నామనామ నామనాయ
 వల్ల నీ పదం నామనామ నామనాయ — నామనాయ
 దీనినామనామనామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ (II T A 90)

I had long worshipped with loving devotion our Lord, the
 tall one with red face. I could not care to be the ruler of the earth
 nor to be able to enter the abode of the celestials (II T A 90)

నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ — నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ (II T A 81)
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ — నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ (II T A 81)

I had the beatific vision of Narayana by day, again by night
 in my dream I saw Him very well, for truth, I saw him well
 There was the brilliant form of the chakram, His shining feet and
 the Jyoti of His Form which lit the whole sky (II T A 81)

నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ — నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ (III T A 59).
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ — నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ నామనాయ
 నామనాయ నామనాయ (III T A 59)

I found the way to salvation only after by placing myself
 entirely at His Feet (III T. A. 59)

the senses¹ on the image during worship, whether

சகல சமக்குளனு சக்காததான தண்டமுழப்பத
தாவாழ வலாமாபன தானமுயமகும்—சகலாத
வானமரு மினனிகமக்கும வண்டாமரை செருவன
தேனமகும் பூமேல திரு (III T A. 100)

சார்வு நயுக்கு அது சக்கரசூக் கல்குழியை
சூர்வாழ் வரையூர்வக் சாக் முய்யுன் — சாரார்வ
வாநயுயமிந்நி முக்குன் கல்குழி நயுயர்
சேநயுயன் சூர்வக் கிய (III T A 100)

At all times and under all circumstances our support is the One who wields the chakram, whose breast is adorned with tulasi garlands and whereon resides on the lotus flower Sri Devi. (III T A. 100).

இனி யறிக்தேன சகரகும் வானமுயமகும் தெய்வம
இனி யறிக்தேன எமபெருமான! உனனை—இனியறிக்தேன
வானனை நீ, சகரனை நீ சகரனை நீ சகரவிரை
வானனை நீ வானகறிக்தேன வான (III T A. 96).

இவ் வன்கீழ்க் கல்குழி வாநயுயுன் நயுயன்
இவ் வன்கீழ்க் வயுயுயுன் கயுயு — இவ்வன்கீழ்க்
வானக நீ சகரவிரை வயுயுயுன் வநகீழ்க்
வானக நீ வன்கீழ்க் வான (No T A 96)

O My Lord. I have now realised you. I have learnt that you are the God of Isa and of the Four Faced (Brahma) I have realised that you are Narayana all that is known and all that is worth knowing You are everything that is good. I have realised you, O Narayana (N T A. 96)

1 வானகருக்கி மதக்கனி வறந்தினைபும
சேரிநிரியாமல சொகிரீடு—வான
மெய்ப்புருவனத்தான உணர்வார் வானபரே மேவெருவான
வானகருவான வறந்தான வயுயு (I. T A. 47).

వారి శురుక్కి మచక్కల్లెన్నినైయుమ్
 శేరిరియమల్ తెన్ని జీఇ — కూరియ
 మెయ్ ఇనత్తల్ ఉణర్వార్ కణ్బరే పేలారునాళ్
 కైన్నాగమ్ కాత్తన్ కళైల్ (I. T. A. 47)

God realisation can be achieved only by keeping chained in the stand the five rogue elephants, not allowing them to run amuck about the cheri (or village) and by acquisition of true knowledge in the approved manner (I T A 47)

అగ్రియపుల శీనెడకకి ఆయమలొ కొణ్ణు అగ్రియమ
 పగ్రియ పగ్రియియల పులకిల—పెగ్రియయ
 మాధుర్య తు వీర్యిరుగత మాలవీపాల వణ్ణెకణ్
 ఐర్యుణ్ణెక కాణ్ణెక తు ణ్ణెక. (I T A 50)
 అరియపులనైడక్కి ఆయమలర్ కొణ్ణు ఆర్వమ్
 పురియప్పరికినాల్ పుల్లిల్ — పెరియనాయ
 మాన్ బొదు పీన్ శీరున్దమావలిపాల్ వణ్ కై నీర్
 పీన్ బొనై క్కాణ్బదు ఎళిదు. (I T. A. 50)

By control of the five precious sense organs and by doing worship with the choicest flowers and with loving devotion, it is easy to realise Him who deigned to receive from the proud Maha Bah a gift with libations of water (I T A 50)

అగ్రియ తు ఐర్యుణ్ణెక ఆయమలొ కొణ్ణు అగ్రియమ
 శెరియత మనత్తరాయశ శెవవే—అగ్రియ తు అవనత్తన
 పెరొత్తి యేత్తమ పెరొత్తలతదేతొ కాణ్ణెక
 కారొత్త వణ్ణెక కళైల్. (II. T A 6).

అటెన్ ఐన్దమ్ ఉళ్ళడక్కి ఆయమలర్ కొణ్ణు ఆర్వమ్
 శెటెన్ మనత్తరాయ్ చెవ్వే — అటెన్ అవన్తన్
 పేర్ది యేత్తమ్ పెరున్దవల్తోర్ కాణ్బరే
 కారోదవణ్ణన్ కళైల్ (II T. A. 6)

This is similar to I. T. A. 50.

that image be a painting or sculpture or metal casting¹ The image should be to the best taste of

அறிவேனனும் தான்கொருவி னுட்புலனும் தமயிவ
செறிவேனனும் தினகதகம செயமி—மறைபெனதும்
கட்கோதி கனருணர்வா கணபகோ கணதோதும்
பைங்கோத வணணைபடி (III. T. A. 12)

அகிலுந் தான் காண வந்துவந் தவ்வு
அகிலுந் தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வு — தவ்வுதவந்
தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந்
தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் (III. T. A. 12)

God realisation is achieved by those who with wise discrimination slam the door of right conduct against the five senses, put on the haub and staple and study well and with understanding the scriptures (Vedas) III. T. A. 12.

ஒத்த மனத்தாய ஐந்தட்கி ஆரவத
பெத்தாய பிறப்பெழும போகவகம—காதத
வினாயக கதத்துழைய கீதகோத மேனி
வினாயக மாவகையே வினத (III. T. A. 79).

உரு தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந்
தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் — தவ்வுதவந்
தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந்
தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் தவ்வுதவந் (III. T. A. 79)

By worship of Him who is adorned with the tulaal garlands with wise discrimination and in the choicest manner one could root out the seven births (III. T. A. 79)

¹ அவ்வத் தாமதம் அறிதவா தேத்தி
இவரிவ செம்பெருமான கனத—கவர்கிணர்
காததிகும வைத்தும தொருவத் உணகந்த
மூத்தி புருவெருதவ (L. T. A. 14)

the worshipper,¹ should be identified as Narayana and treated in every respect as God Himself.

There are however a few verses of Poygai ālvār and one of Pey ālvār which may raise a doubt whether after all these two ālvāis were not as much votaries of Siva as they were of Vishnu. The verses of Poygai ālvār are Nos, 5, 74 and 98. If they are read along with verses 7, 11, 15, 28, 46, 52,

అవరసర్ తామ్తామ్ అటినవారేత్తి
ఇవరివరె మ్మెరునున్ ఎస్తు — శువర్ మిళై
చ్చాత్తియుమ్ నైత్తుమ్ తొమ్మివర్ ఉలగళన్ద
మూర్తియురునే ముల్ (I T. A 14)

Every worshipper would worship according to the best of his understanding an image placed resting against a wall or seated on a base and consider it his God. The original Murti which these represent is however the One who measured the earth with His Feet (I. T. A 14).

1 తమరుకనతతు ఎవవురువమ అవవురువమ తాణే
తమరుకనతతు ఎప్పో మఱుప్పో — తమరుకనతతు
ఎవవణణమ శిరశితతు ఇమెయి నీరుప్పో
అవవణణ మార్పియాణుం. (I T. A. 44)
తమరుగన్దదు ఎవ్వురువమ్ అవ్వురువమ్ తానే
తమరుగన్దదు ఎప్పేర్ మత్తైప్పేర్ — తమరుగన్దదు
ఎవ్వుణ్ణమ్ శినిత్తు ఇమెయిరుప్పరే
ఎవ్వుణ్ణ మార్పియానామ్. (I T. A. 44)

The One who bears the chakram manifests Himself to the worshipper in that form which pleases him most. He bears that name which is most dear to the worshipper and in whatever posture or disposition the worahipper concentrates his attention in that manner would He be seen (I T. A 44)

67 75 there will be no reason to doubt that the ālvār was a devoted bhakta of Sri Vishnn alone¹ The former make a bare statement of the fact that Śiva and Vishnn have each distinctive functions and appurtenances. Thus (verse 5) one is called Hara and the other Narayana one rides the bull and the other flies on the eagle one has given us his Nūl or āgama and the other the Vedas one resides on the hill (Kailas) and the other on the ocean one works destruction and the other gives protection one has the Trident in his hand and the other the Chakram and lastly one is of the hue of

- 1 திருவடித் திருவடித் தெய்வஞ் தெய்வத்
திருவடித் தருமன் செவ்வன்—ஆலவையிடுநீர்
கண்ணன் கெடுமன் கடவதையுடந்த கரோத
வண்ணன் படைத்த மயக்கு (L T A 7).

சுழையன் சுழையன் பையுயன் பையு
சுழையன் கருமன் கருமன் — சுழையன் 45
கருமன் கருமன் கருமன் கருமன்
கருமன் கருமன் கருமன் கருமன்

பண்புரிந்த கணமறையேன சென்னிப பவிபேற
பண்புரிந்த மரபன் தீர்த்தேப—புண்புரிந்த
ஆகத்தன் தகவணியை கணபன் ஆகத்தன்
பேகத்தன் பூமிபன் வர (L T A 46)

பன் பூமிந் தன் துழையன் கருமன் பூமிந் தன்
பன் பூமிந் தன் துழையன் கருமன் — பூமிந் தன்
பன் பூமிந் தன் துழையன் கருமன் பூமிந் தன்
பன் பூமிந் தன் துழையன் கருமன்

ఁణమః పత్రిత్రోరువారా శరణువారా ఓరీరువారా
వణణణ మలరేణత్రి వైవకల్యమ—నణణణి
ఓరుమాళిల యాలపరవి యోవారా తులప పోతమ
త్రిరుమాళిలక కైకత్రోమ్రువారా శెణు. (I T A 52)

ఎల్లూర్ పునొరువర్ శరణువర్ ఓరిరువర్
నణ మలరేని నైగళుమ్ — నణి
ఒరుమాళిల యోవరవి యోవారువ పోదుమ్
తిరుమాళిల కైకత్రోమ్రువర్ శెణు.

పెయరమ పెరుణకడలే నోకకమల్యురు ఓణుల్
ఒయరమ కత్తిరవణే నోకకమ—ఒయిరమ
కరమణేయే నోకకమల్యురు తామరాయాన్ కేగ్గవన్
ఓరువణేయే నోకకమ ఒణువు. (I T A 67)

పెయరుమ్ పెరుజ్జడలే నోక్కుమ్ ఆలు ఒణ్ పూ
ఉయరుమ్ కదిరవ నే నోక్కుమ్ — ఉయిరుమ్
ఒరుమాళిల యో నోక్కుమ్ ఒణ్ తామరై యాన్ కేళ్యన్
ఒరుమాళిల యో నోక్కుమ్ ఉణురు.

కాపపులనణే యున్నక కల్లియు అరువణేకన్
అపపులనణే యున్న అవిరత్రోమ్రు—అపపులనణేక
శిరత్రిపపారా కిలళిల త్రిరుమాళిల నిణనాడియె
వరత్రిపపారా కాణ్ణపా వల్లి. (I. T A 75)

కాపు ఉన్నై యన్న కల్లియుమ్ అరువిన్నైగళ్
అపుఉన్నై యన్న అవిన్దొల్లియుమ్ — మూపు ఉన్నై
చ్చిన్దిప్పూర్ కిల్లై తిరుమాళి నిన్నడియై
వన్దిప్పూర్ కాణ్ణూర్ వల్లి.

నాడిల్యమ నిన్నాడిపే నాడువన నాణ్ణతొళుమ
పాడిల్యమ నిన్నాడిపే నాడువన—అడిల్యమ

flaming fire and the other of the colour of the sky (5)¹ Again verse 74² says one rides the bull and the other the eagle, one burnt to ashes the Tripuram and other tore open the breast of Hiranya, one smears his body white with ashes and the other is bright Sky blue in colour, one shares his body with his spouse and other keeps Her on a flower over His chest, one has long matted hair (jaṭa) and the other wears a high peaked crown one wears the Ganga on his head

பொன்னுழி யேதெனா பொன்னடியே குறிவேறது
எனகுவிவ எனனே எனக்கு. (L T A 88).

காடிலும் விஷ்டிதே காமகந் காத்தோலும்
காடிலும் விஷ்டிதே காாமகந் — காடிலும்
காத்தோலி யேவிதாந் காத்திதே காாம வேலு
வாநிர் வாநிர் வாமு.

1. அனகா அனகாமம் ஆகவிடை புனனாநி
வனாநாந மனாநாநாநாந கோபில—வனாநி
கருமம் அழிபுஅழிபுக் கைபது வேலகோமி
உருவ மெரி காமேனி பொனாந (L T A. 8)
அந்நா ரகந் காமுந் அந்நிதே புந்நாநி
காந்நாந் காமுந்நாந்நாந் காந்நாந் — காந்நி
காமுந்நாந் அழிபு அழிபு காந்நாந் காந்நாந்
காமுந் காந்நாந்நாந் காந்நாந்
2. ஏறகுனபுன னுத்தான கயிலெரித்தான மாவிடத்தான
கீற்றான கிழலமணி வனாநத்தான—உறகுருபால
மனாநாந பூககாந வாநாநாந கீகருபாந
காமாநாந கீகருபாந காபு. (L T A. 74)

and the other receives the waters safely on his feet. Verse 98' says that although the golden hued Siva (Punniyan) with the matted locks of hair and Nedumāl (Vishnu) who strode the earth may be considered by us to have two different bodies, one has his abode only within the body of the other. The precise relationship between the two is given by the alvar in verses (15 and 28)². The first and fore-

ఏత్త న్నాన్ పుళ్ళు కూర్చున్ యిలెత్తాన్ మాడ్చిడన్
 నీత్త న్నాన్ నిమ్మలమణి ప్పణ్ణాన్ — కూర్చొనెరుపాల్
 మజ్జెయాన్ పూమగళాన్ వార్శడైయాన్ నీళ్ళముడియాన్
 గజ్జెయాన్ నీళ్ళకమ్మలాన్ కాప్ప

- 1 పొన్నాదికమ్ర మేనిం పురిశడైయమ పుణ్ణియియు
 నిన్నులకమ తాయ నెడమాలమ్ — యెన్ను
 ఇరువరకత తాలక్రిగివ రేయుం ఒరువన
 ఒరువనకత తులైయి ముళన్. (I T A 98)

పోన్ తిగమ్మ మేని ప్పరిశడైయమ్ పుణ్ణియనుమ్
 నిమ్మలకమ్ తాయ నెడుమాలమ్ — ఎన్నుమ్
 ఇరువరక తులైయి రేనుమ్ ఒరువన్
 ఒరువనక తులైయి ముళన్

- 2 మ్రతలవారా మ్రవరే అమమ్రవ రున్ద్రమ్
 మ్రతలవారా మ్రగిరీ వణ్ణణ్ణ — మ్రతలవాయ
 నలల నాన్రులలల నామరీ వాయకతత్తు
 పలల రున్ద్రమ్ పమ్రత్తు. (I T A 15)

ముదలవార్ మూవరే అమూవ రుళ్ళుమ్
 ముదలవాన్ మూరినీర్ ప్పణ్ణ — ముదలాయ
 ప్పణ్ణ నరుళ్ళల్ వామనీర్ నైయగత్తు
 ప్పణ్ణ రరుళ్ళుమ్ పమ్రదు

most beings in creation (in the manifested universe) are three and of these the highest is the one who manifested himself on the primeval waters (Mūri nir vannan) Without His grace the good offices of the others will be of no avail for salvation (verse 15) O Thou of the dark hne! in thine hands are the right winded Sankham and the Chakram (Nēmi) She who is seated on the flower is on your body (Ohest) (Brahma) who gave the four Vedas is in your navel and He who destroyed the three castles (Tripura) has his residence in your body (verse 28) (Verse 11)¹ says that the ālvārs mouth would not praise any other Deity nor his hands worship

అశ్వ బలమగ్నిగ్నిం కేమిగ్నిం కారవణాంతర్థ
 య! మలమకాశిన శ్చతతాన—అశ్వ
 మయబాణిన ఒకదిబాణ మమదిబాణం దెబబ
 త్రియబాణిన అశత్ త్రియ. (L T A. 28).

శ్రీయ పరివ్రజియన్ సిమయన్ కార్పణ్య
 య! మురమగ్నినిగ్ని—అగ్ని
 ముగ్నియన్ నిగ్ని సిమయన్ మమదిగ్నియన్
 ఇగ్నియన్ నిగ్ని సిమ

¹ అశ్వబాణిన బలమగ్ని కారవ్రాంతర్థ అశ్వబాణ
 కారవ్రాంతర్థ కారవ్రాంతర్థ—అశ్వబాణిన
 అశ్వబాణిన అశ్వబాణ అశ్వబాణ అశ్వబాణ
 అశ్వబాణిన అశ్వబాణ అశ్వబాణ (L T A. 11)

కాయ అపనై యగ్నియన్ కార్పణ్య
 కాయ అపనై యగ్నియన్ కార్పణ్య — సిమయన్
 అగ్నియన్ సిమయన్ అగ్నియన్
 అగ్నియన్ అగ్నియన్ అగ్నియన్

another. In verse 46 reference is made to the Puranic account that Siva had to get his sin of nipping off one of the heads of Brahma absolved only by the grace of Vishnu. In verse 52 we are told that the eight Dikpālas, the Ekādasā Rudras, the Dvādasā Adityas and the matchless two (Brahma and Siva) daily worship Tirumāl (Vishnu) with flowers gathered with their own hands. Verse 67 says that all rivers direct their course to the ocean; the flower turns its face to the rising Sun; life looks to Yama (Dharman), so also True knowledge seeks the Lord of Padmavati. Verse 75 says that by prayerful meditation of Tirumāl all evil spells and incantations vanish and so also the oppressive effects of all bad karmas are destroyed, weakness of old age not felt and the way to salvation is assured.

It will be clear from a reading of the verses quoted above that Poygai ālvār being an out and out Narayana bhakta has only given a reply to those who in his days entertained the notion that Siva and Vishnu are only different aspects of the one Supreme Being. He flourished in days when the relative merits of the ritualistic worship of Siva and Vishnu were being seriously discussed and also the philosophy on which such worship was based. Even the Agamas recognised the worship of the Trimurtis and Dvimurtis and temples were constructed accordingly.

Bhūdattālvāra (second) Tiruvandādī gives no room for doubt in the matter. In verse 17' he says that Śiva who wears the Moon on the matted locks of his head waited on (Māl) Viṣṇu and got his sin expiated. Pey alvār commences his (Third) Tiruvandādī with a description of the beautiful vision of Śrī Devī and Nārāyaṇa in dazzling golden colour, the Sankhaṃ and Cakraṃ in the Hands—and worshipped His Feet (III T A. 1 and 2). He restates his conviction in the last verse (III. T A. 100) by stating that we depend only on the One who bears the Cakraṃ in hand for our Salvation. There is

¹ சாவு நமஸ்கு ஏனறும் சககரத்தான்

కామ్య నమస్క ఎస్టేట్ రిజర్వేషన్

however one verse (III 63) which describes the the form of Sri Venkatesa as a composite one of Vishnu and Siva. This verse will be duly considered a little later in this section of the chapter while dealing with what each of the ālvāra has said about Vengadam and its presiding Deity.

o Tirumalisaī ālvārs views given in his Nan-
mukhan Tiruvandadī are more emphatic than the

1. மருமகன் உருவம்? உருவமேதான் மாமலேதான்

சமூக உணவகம் தொழிலாளை—ஒய்யாப

பிணைப்பிதழ் செஞ்ச வடவாடு பிச்சென்று மாலை

குறையிட்டு தாய்முடிததாய் கொண்டு (IL T A. 17).

మధ్యస్థానియాలావారో వానశిర్ శోక చూపుటశోక

శుక్ల యుగ వర్ణాదు లొఱివచ్చె — ఒత్తెయ

ప్రతియును అప్పుడాయాన పదము మూలము

ప్రశ్న: యిరవై రెండు ముద్రాకాండలు

[illegible]

1 தேவனாய் பிறருமாய் தோழனாய் ஆய் - கி.
முதலாய் பிறரும் முதுமுதலாயும் - அவனாய்
பிறரும், தெவனாய் தோழனாய் தோழனாய்
தோழனாய் தெவனாய் தோழ - (Nan Tiru 51).

సేవరాయ్ నియ్యుమ్ అడ్డపుమ్ అడ్డవరిన్
 మాపరాయ్ నియ్యుమ్ ముచుపుణర్పుమ్ — యావరాయ్
 నిక్కన్న్ ఇల్లామ్ ఇడుమా ఇన్దోరాచార్
 కక్కన్న్ ఇల్లామ్ కడ్డె.

become a Narayana Bhakta¹ The Ālvārs were all out and out Narayana bhaktas because their spiritual evolution had reached that stage

The early Ālvārs have given in their works greater importance to the direct offer of individual daily worship than to resorting to temples for attending the worship offered there The number of places of temple worship seem also to have been very limited in those days.

An analysis of the number of verses devoted by them in praise of the presiding Deity in temples will now be presented It will be seen therefrom how greatly Tiruvengadam loomed large in their eyes in comparison with other places.

References by the early Ālvārs to Vengadam and to the other places of public worship

Puygar Ālvār's Mudal Tiruvandādi consists of one hundred verses Five Temples only are referred to in eleven verses *Eight out of the eleven verses are exclusively in praise of Vengadam*² Tiruvarangam or Srirangam is referred to in verse 6 and Tirukkōvalūr in v 86 In the

1 See pages 513 and 514 of Vol. I of this History may be perused in this connection. See also Tiruvāymoli 3-9-6.

தமிழகத்திலேயுள்ள தமதம் துடா தெய்வ மேத்தினால்,
தேயமின கூடமுடிவான திருவாழ்க்ஞ்ச சேருமே.

மந் வந் ௨௨௬வா மந்மந் வந் வந் ௨௨௬வா
வந் ௨௨௬வா வந் ௨௨௬வா வந் ௨௨௬வா

2. Verses 26, 37, 38, 39, 40, 63, 70, 82 and 89

śī on : one (v. 71), four places (Vēngadam, Vinnaṭṭar, Vehka and Kōval) are sung in one lot to illustrate the different postures of Images for standing, viz., the standing, the sitting, the reposing and the walking.

Bhūdottālār's second Tiruandādī also consists of one hundred verses. Twelve temples are referred to in seventeen verses. *Seven verses out of the seventeen are devoted exclusively in praise of Vēngadam*¹. Srirangam is referred to in v. 88; Pādagam in v. 91, Kāchchi (Attivūr) in v. 95 and 96; Tirukkōṭṭiyur in v. 87, Tirukkudandai in v. 97, and Tirumāl-urum-sōlai in v. 48. The other places, viz., Tanjai, Tankāl, Vēlai, Māmallai and Kōval occur in combination with Vēngadam, Srirangam, Tirumāl-urum-solai, Tirukkudandai and Tirukkōṭṭiyur in verses 23, 46, 51 and 70. It will be seen that *Vēngadam has been largely sung exclusively as well as in combination with other places*.

Pēy ālvār's Third Tiruandādī also consists of one hundred verses. Twelve temples are referred to in nineteen verses. *Ten verses out of the nineteen are exclusively devoted in praise of Vēngadam*². *In five more verses it is sung in conjunction with other places*³. Tiruvallikkēni is sung exclusively in verse 16 and Asṭabhujam in v. 99. In v. 62 Srirangam, Tirukkōṭṭiyur, Vehka, Tirukkudandai and Kaṭigam (Sholinghur) are sung together; in v. 64 Vehka,

1. Verses 25, 33, 45, 53, 72, 75 and 76.

2. Verses 14, 39, 40, 45, 58, 63, 68, 73, 75 and 89.

3. Verses 26, 30, 32, 61 and 62.

Vēlnkhai and Kachchi are sung together and in v 30 Padagam shares with Vengadam

Tirumāḷṣai āḷvār's Nanmukhan Tiruvāṇḍāḍi consists of ninety six verses only and his 'Tiruchanda viruttam one hundred and twenty verses' The total number of his verses are Two hundred and sixteen Thirteen temples are sung in twenty-six verses (seventeen in the Tiruvāṇḍāḍi and nine in Tiruchanda viruttam) *Fourteen' verses out of the twenty six are exclusively* in praise of Vengadam¹ Srirangam, exclusively in v 3 30 60 of N T A and v 49 55 of T Viruttam Tirukkōḍan¹ dai exclusively in T V 56 61 62 Tiruvallikkeni in N T A 35 and Kapiethalam in N T A 50 In N T A 36 and 34 Srirangam Vehka Thruvevvullur Tiruppernagar and Thruvanbil occur in combination In T V 63 64 Padagam and Uragam are exclusively sung

In the final analysis out of a total contribution of 517 verses by the four āḷvārs, seventy three verses only refer to temples (or places of public worship) *Out of the seventy three verses thirty nine are exclusively in praise of Vengadam and its presiding Deity In nine more it occurs in conjunction with other places* Srirangam is exclusively sung in seven verses only Our Deity is invariably referred to as Vēṅgaḍattān or Vengadattu mōyan and not by any of the other names with which we are now familiar (Sri Venkatesvara Srinivasa Seshachalapati etc.,)

1 N T v 34 39 40 41 42, 43 44 45 46, 47 48 and 90 Tiruchanda Viruttam 60 and 87

They likewise call Ranganatha, as Arangattu mēyan and the Deity in Thukkottiyūr, Tirukkottiyūr meran. The alvars do not describe the features of any Murti nor do they state if there were any attendant deities.

It will be plain from the above analysis that to the early ālvārs Vengadam was the foremost place of Vishnu worship. That they considered the Murti to be the self-manifest Image of the Supreme Being Narayana, will be clear from their verses. A clear exposition of this from their songs is necessary to set at rest the vague impression in the minds of some people that at some period in the remote past the Image represented a form of Siva or Sri Subrahmanya although positive proof of it is not till now forthcoming and that Sri Ramanuja by some device converted the image into one of Vishnu. The early ālvārs flourished at least six centuries before Ramanuja and bhaktas have to be told what these alvars considered the deity to represent and to which deity Vengadam has been considered the hallowed spot.

SANCTITY OF THE VENGADAM HILL AND THE SELF-MANIFESTATION OF VISHNU (TIRUMAL) THEREON.

Poygai Alvar.

Poygai Alvāi's songs seem to be the earliest literary authority on the subject. From verse 26¹

¹ எழுவார விடைகொள்வார ஈனதுழா யானே
வழுவா வகைநின்று வைகல்—தொழுவார

it is seen that even in his days those who strove whether for material or spiritual advancement (అగ్రహార, ఎల్లువార్, Eluvār) and those who desire to have and who wait for the Divine grace in response to their higher desires (విదైకలవార ఎల్లవార్, Vidai kolvār) would daily worship the One who wears the fresh Tulasī garlands (నతదుభయం కమ్మత్తాయాన్) with unswerving faith on that hill Vēṅgadāma because it destroys the effects of all past karmas of the terrestrials and invigorates the spiritual faculties of the celestials. From verse 37¹ it is gathered that (in his days) great Vedic scholars of the different parts of the country who were applying their mind to the proper elucidation of those extremely abstruse sūtras which appear to be in conflict with the main

విదైకలవార నతదుభయం కమ్మత్తాయాన్
అగ్రహారా నతదుభయం కమ్మత్తాయాన్ (I T A. 28)

ఎల్లువార్ విదైకలవార్ కమ్మత్తాయాన్
ఎల్లువార్ వర్ణనకు వైకర్—కమ్మత్తాయాన్
విదైకలవార్ వర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్
కమ్మత్తాయాన్ కమ్మత్తాయాన్

¹ అగ్రహార వర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్
పుణ్యవర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్—విదైకలవార
విదైకలవార వర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్
విదైకలవార వర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్ (I T A. 37)

వర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్
వర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్
వర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్
వర్ణనకు వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్ వైకర్

ones (bhāṭa-abbhāṭa śrūtis) would all go to Vengadam carrying with them incense, light flowers and water and with prostrations pray for enlightenment. They did so because Vengadam is the hallowed spot on earth for Māl (Vishnu) whose mouth once (as Sri Krishna, blew the white Sankham (as the sure sign of banishment of fear and spiritual ignorance)—it was He who dispelled Arjuna's confusion about what is dharma and what is adharma. These two verses are enough to convince us that in Poygai ālvār's days the Deity was considered to be Vishnu who specially selected this Hill as the hallowed spot for His Archāvatāram. The Alvāi had obviously in mind the assurance vouchasified by Sri Krishna's after-death apparition in the Sun's disc that He was appearing on earth in that archa-form for being worshipped by all (Vide page 257, Vol I) " Bhūmau gatam pūjayatām pramēyam " (Mahabharatam Mausava Paivam). In the next verse 38 Vengadam is described as the place selected by Māl (Vishnu) whom the Asuras claimed as their dear one—that is during his avatar as Mōhinī (வேங்கடமே மேலசுரா எம்மென்னு மாலதிடம்) (వేంకడమే మేలసురన్ ఎమ్మెన్ను మాఁదిదం) In verses 39 the Deity is identified with Sriman Narayana reposing on the waters of the wide ocean. There He is reposing, while in Vengadam He is standing (ఉదాత్తతలము—నీరొత్త మా కడలే నిన్ద్రతులము వేంగుకడమే—కిడన్దదుపుం నీరొత్తమాకడలే ఉదాత్తదుపుం వేంకడమే) In verse 40 the hill is identified as the place selected by Him who killed the mighty King of the asuras Rāvana (வேங்கடமே மேலசுరా கோన్

கீழ்க்கண்டுகத்தான குன்று மேலகம் மேலகர் சீவ பிழகம்
 ஸ்ரீராமர் (The idea that the Hill is sacred
 to Sri Rama is repeated in verse 82¹ in the words
 ' the hill (sacred to Him) who once in the past shot
 the elusive deer to death (மேலொருகான, மானமாய
 வெயதான வரை, மேலான் வாழ்ந்தவன் வர) The same
 verse also tells us that the Parasi or Mukkōṭi
 dvādasi attracted to Vengadam large concourse
 of pilgrims, women in particular who took with
 them flower garlands and incense for the wor-
 ship The belief expressed in verse 39 that the
 Dely in Vengadam and He who is on the ocean
 are one and the same is reiterated in verse 99²
 which affirms— my good heart know Thou that He

1 படைபுகழ் வடகண்குடி பரநிலை பையழை
 தொண்டையிலேடு ஏகநிலை அபம்—இடைபிடைபிலை
 மீனமாய மருணம் மேகடமே மேலொருகான
 மானமாய வெயதான வரை (L T A 82)
 வட்டையுள் வாழ்ந்தார் வந்தவர்க்கு வையு
 வட்டையுள் வந்த வந்த—வட்டையுள்
 வந்தவர்க்கு வந்த வந்த மேலையுள்
 வந்தவர்க்கு வந்த வந்த

2 உலககண்டாய உலகெருகு உத்தமனெனதம்
 உலககண்டாய உலகெருகு குத்ததம்—உலககண்டாய
 வெயதநி னுய்யானம் மேகடத்து மேலானம்
 உலகநி னுய்யானெனது ஓ (L T A. 99)
 உலகநி னுய்யானம் வந்தவர்க்கு உலகநி
 உலகநி னுய்யானம் வந்தவர்க்கு—உலகநி
 வந்தவர்க்கு வந்த வந்த மேலையுள்
 உலகநி உலகநி உலகநி

is Immanent," that He is the Highest (the Living God on High), know thou in truth that He who is on the waters of the ocean and He who lords over all from Vengadam is also the one who is in our hearts

"வெள்ளத்தி னுள்ளானும் வேங்கடத்து மேயானும் உள்ளத்தி னுள்ளா னென்று ஓர்" (பெரியபுராணம் வேங்கடத்து மேயானும் கட்டிப் புள்ள நெரு ௨5) In verse 76,¹ the Deity is also identified with Trivikrama who measured the worlds with His Feet. It says that Tiruvengadam, the abode of Him who measured the earth will without placing obstacles grant us Heaven (Vin), also that those who keep to the righteous path and worship in the ordained manner will rise to be Multis (Brahma and Rudra) who stand steadfast to truth

It will be seen from the above quotations that the Deity on the Vengadam Hill is identified by Poygai alvar with the avatars of Krishna, Rama and Trivikrama. The Archa form of Sri Krishna which was observed in the Sun's disc seems to have had neither Chakram nor Sankham in hand. Sri Devi alone was on the chest. The marks on the

- 1 வழிநின்று நின்னைத் தொழுவாரா வழுவா
வழிநின்ற மூர்த்தியரே யாவாரா—பழ்தொன்றும்
வாராத வண்ணமே விண்கொடுக்கும் மண்ணாளாத
சீரான திருவேங்கடம். (I T A 76)

வழிநின்று நின்றுமுடிவார் வழுவா
வழிநின்று மூர்த்தியர் யாவார்—பழுவாயு
வாராத வண்ணமே விண்கொடுக்கும் மண்ணாளாத
சீரான திருவேங்கடம்.

shoulders of Sri Venkatesvara may be taken to indicate the marks left by the slings which carried the arrow packs of Sri Rama. The lower right hand pointing to the right foot reminds us that for the salvation of our souls we must depend on that foot which gave salvation to Maha Bali.

Lastly the ālvār address the Deity in these words in verse 68: ' who can comprehend your greatness and your form even contemplating over them from aeon to aeon O Soul of the Heavens, Soul of the Earth the Lord of Vengadam, Soul of the Four Vedas and of the Hymns, who knows the place You lie in

Bhudattalvar

Bhāṇḍattāḷvar also identifies (in verse 25) the Deity in Vengadam as Śrī Rama who killed Rāvana in battle. He stands on the Vengadam Hill clothed with the tall bamboo forests on its slopes and He

1 உணர்வார் உனபெருமை னுழிதோறுழி
உணர்வார் உனலுருவத் தனை—உணர்வார்
விண்ணகத்தாய்! மண்ணகத்தாய்! வேலகடத்தாய்!
தலவேதப்
பண்ணகத்தாய்! கீழிடந்த பால (I. T. A. 68)

ఉగర్ వారార్ ఉగర్ పుమై పుట్టిరోణ్ణాట్రి
ఉగర్ వారార్ ఉన్నయన్న్యత్తు—ఉగర్ వారార్
నిగ్గత్తాయ్ ! ముగ్గత్తాయ్ ! క్కెడత్తాయ్ ! వాశ్య
చ్చుగ్గత్తాయ్ ! ఏ క్కెడత్తాయ్

II TIRUVANDADI AND VENGADAM

is loudly praised by the celestials¹ In verse 28 He is identified with Sri Krishna who tore the mouth of the horse—"He is in our hearts, He is in Vengadam, He is on the ocean, also in Ariangam island, He is called the Dova of all Devas² In verse 33 he expresses his joy that he fixed his faith in Him who wears the Tulasī garlands and who is the Lord of Vengadam whose slopes are studded with tall bamboo forests Him the ālvār says that his voice praised to the best of its powers In Bhūdatālvār's view the Deity is undoubtedly Vishnu wearing the Tulasī garlands In verse 45⁴

1 "நின்றதுவும் வேயோங்கு சாரல வேங்கடமே"

"விண்ணவாதம வாயோங்கு தொலபுகழான, வந்தது"

నిద్రదుపుం వేయోంగుచారల్ వేంగడమే

విష్ణవర్చమ్ వాయోంగు తొలపకృతాన్ వందు

2 முன்னொருநாள மாவாய பிளந்த மகன

మున్నొరునాళ్ మావాయ పిళంద మకన్

3 துணிந்தது சிந்தை துழாயலங்கல அங்கம

அணிந்தவனபோ உள்ளததுப பலகால—பணிந்ததுவும்

வேயபிறங்கு சாரல விறலவேங் கடவனைய

வாயதிறங்கள் சொல்லும வகை (II, T A 33)

తుణిన్దు శిన్దై తుఱ్ఱాయలన్గల్ అన్గమ్

అణిన్దవన్ పేర్ ఉళుత్తు ప్పల్కాల్—పణిన్దవుమ్

వేయపిఱన్గు చారల్ విఱల్ వేబడవన్దయే

వాయ్తిఱన్గల్ శొల్లమ్ వన్

4 உளதென நிறுமாவா உணழிலலை யென்ற

தனாந்த லதனருகுஞ் சாரார்—அளவரிய

he says that those that worship His feet would never be proud of their possessions (wealth) nor would they feel dejected on account of their poverty when they become poor Vēṅgadattān is enshrined in the boundless Vedas and at His Feet all celestials place their crowned heads Verse 53¹ describes how he found the Deity decorated to look like the young Krishna with the forelocks done up into a knot over the forehead and the rear tuft hanging behind He looked like a hillock. Vengadam with its hill streams studded with flowery creepers entwined on either bank was the very place which he adored most. It has to be inferred from this that in Bhūdattalvars days it

வேததான வேங்கடதான விண்ணோர் முடிதேயமு

பாததான பதம பவினது (II T A 45)

கந்தக் திருவாசர் கிட்டி யெழு

கந்த வசவசுக் கா — கந்தவசு

மேதூர் மீதூர் உள்சீர் மூதீர்யுள்

மேதூர் மூதீர் மூதூர்

- 1 செரியர் குழந்தை முன்னினை பித்தமூத
அரிய திவங்கிரியென தென்னிப—பிரியது
புறகோடினை ஹைம மெருபுத குத்தெனினு
வேங்கடமே பாயவிருமபும வெறு (II T A. 53.)

மேயார் கழந்தை முன்னினை பித்தமூத

அரிய கிட்டியைக் கிட்டி—கிட்டியை

மேதூர் கிட்டியைக் கிட்டியைக் கிட்டியை

கிட்டியை கிட்டியைக் கிட்டியை

was usual to decorate the Image to look like Bāla-krishna, probably in the belief that the Deity is Sri Krishna. In verses 72 to 77 the ālvāis revels in contemplation of Vengadavan. Monkeys going back to their rendezvous in the caves, plucking and strewing the flowers, appeared to him as if they worshipped Vengadavan there. To his mind it was an appeal that he should also worship with flowers repeating all His names. In the next verse 73¹ he feels proud that as a sincere devotee he could recite His thousand names from beginning to end, in the reverse order and also from any place in the middle. In the next verse 74² he expresses his conviction that as successful tapasvi of seven continuous births he with pride laid at His feet the garland of his inimi-

- 1 ஆயந் துரைப்பன ஆயிரம்போ ஆதிநடு வந்திவாய
வாயநத மலா தூவி வைகலும்—ஏயநத

.. . . . (73)

ఆయిదురైప్పన్ ఆయిరంపేన్ ఆదినడు వన్నియాయ్
వాయ్న నులన్ తూవి నైగలున్—ఓయ్న

- 2 யானே தவமசெயதேன ஏழபிறப்பும எப்பொழுதும்
யானே தவமுடையேன எம்பெருமான—யானே
இருந்தமிழ் மாலை இணையழககே சொன்னேன
பெருந்தமிழ் நலலேன பெரிது. (II T. A 74)

యానే తవమ్ సెయేన్ ఏత్త్రి పిఱప్పమ్ ఎప్పొழுదుమ్
యానే తవముడైయేన్ ఎప్పెరుమాన్—యానే
ఇరున్దమిత్త మాలై ఇణైయడిక్కే శొన్నే
పెరున్దమిత్త నల్లెన్ పెరిదు.

table songs in the purest high class Tamil¹ Verse 75 describes Vengadam as the hill where the he and the she-elephants exchange courtesies by the former presenting to the latter tender bamboo shoots dipped in the honey of the honey combs for repast. In verse 76 we are told that the Deity is no other than the Omniscient Being [Sri Vishnu—Arivan அறிவன் அகம்] who in the hoary past (Ādikkaṇ) beyond our ken of his own Will took His stand there and that therefore He should be worshipped in the proper manner by repeating (His thousand) names. The Image is described as being smeared all over with the paste of the hill grown sandal wood, as being adorned with the divine ornaments (Divyā bharanam), dressed in silk and profusely decorated with highly fragrant white jasmine flowers² This is the first time that such a description is given in the Prabandhams. In verse 77 he exhorts himself

1. உரவே திருத்தமிழ் கனல்கை தீயைப்புகழே சொன்னேன
பெருத் தமிழை கலியைப் பெரிது யாவே ஏறுவழி முகూரై ஏழై
யுதிக்கே காழ்வை పెరువుழుణ వల్లెన పెరుదు

2. ఉవాకకక తనకత్తమగ్గుల వాణకలహ్నమ బలదు
వీణాబసేవితే దేవయాల వీణకట్ట—వీణాత్తుత్తకడెణ్ణు
ప్రదీకకయ నీడగువనిల నాటబడియె
దైదిబ పణిల తులమ (IL. T. A. 76)
వరైచ్చుండ న్దుక్కుంబం వాన్కండు పట్టున్
విరైచ్చుండ క్కుల్లిక్కయం—విరైక్కండు
అదిక్కన్ విరై అదిన నడియైదు
ఓది వుదిన ముదన్

III TIRUVANDADI AND VENGADAM

to feel assured that He is the Highest (Uttaman) and that He should reverently be worshipped daily reciting his thousand names

Bhudattalvār's firm belief was that the Image is self-manifest Brahman who deigned to stand on this Hill to give facilities to all men to worship Him and that He has been there from times unknown to man. He seems to have worshipped Him on two occasions—once when the Image was decorated to look like the youthful Krishna perhaps on a Sri-jayanti day : again when the Image in the natural state was dressed in silk, covered over with sandal paste and profusely decorated with jasmine flowers. This profuse decoration with flowers is mentioned in Silappadhikāram also. Tulasi garlands would have been a part of this decoration. It was given the name Poovalangal or Pūlangi sēva in later times. The divine ornaments referred to by Bhudattalvār are the ornaments which are integral with the Image and mentioned in the Puranas and Agamas as (not the ones made by human hands and put on the Deity) those always on the body of Para Vāsudeva in Vaikuntham.

Pey alvar.

Pēy ālvār also represents the Deity on the Vengadam Hill as self-manifest Vishnu and associates it with His incarnations as Trivikrama and Krishna. Himself being a bhakta who achieved God Realisation he tells us in verse 14 of the only way to achieve it—to concentrate one's thoughts on

In verses 45 and 58 and 61 he identifies the Deity as Vishnu in his previous avatars¹

Verse 61 to 64

Then the names of several places where Vishnu deigned to manifest Himself in the alvar's days are mentioned in 61, 62 and 64

பண்டெல்லாம் வேங்கடமே பரங்கடம் வைகுந்தம்
கொண்டது குறைவார்க்குத் கோவிலுபோல—அன்று,
வணங்கினதும் தீர்த்தோலை வணங்குதல் தருகை
இவையுமாவன தனயின னாகத் (III. T. A. 61)

வட்டிலாங் வட்டங்க வாநீரகர் வுருத்தங்
காட்டங் கழைவாய்கு கோயில்பார்—வட்ட
வகீர்த்துருங் கீர்த்து வகீர்த்து வகீர்த்து
வகீர்த்து வகீர்த்து வகீர்த்து

¹ வேங்கடமே மேலெருகான
மண்கொடும் கொண்டன மலை (III. T. A. 45).

வட்டங்கு வுருத்தங்
வகீர்த்து வகீர்த்து வகீர்த்து

வேங்கடமே மேலெருகான
மணமதியில கொண்டுகொதான வாழவு (III. T. A. 58)

வட்டங்கு வுருத்தங்
வகீர்த்து வகீர்த்து வகீர்த்து

பண்டெல்லாம் வேங்கடமே பரங்கடம் வைகுந்தம்
கொண்டது குறைவார்க்குத் கோவிலுபோல் (III. T. A. 61)

வட்டிலாங் வட்டங்க வாநீரகர் வுருத்தங்
காட்டங் கழைவாய்கு கோயில்பார்

III TIRUVANDADI AND VENGADAM

விண்ணகரம் வெவிகா விரிதிரைநீர் வேங்கடம்
மண்ணகரம் மாமாட வேளுகை—மண்ணகதத
தென்குடநதை தேனா திருவரங்கம் தென்கோட்டி
தனகுடங்கை நீரோற்றான தூழவு (III, T A. 62)

விண்ணகரம் வெவிகா விரிதிரைநீர் வேங்கடம்
மண்ணகரம் மாமாட வேளுகை—மண்ணகதத
தென்குடநதை தேனா திருவரங்கம் தென்கோட்டி
தனகுடங்கை நீரோற்றான தூழவு (III, T A. 62)

தாழசடையும் நீள்முடியும் ஒணமழுவும் சககாரமும்
சூழரவும் பொனனாணும் தோன்றுமால்—சூழும்
திரண்டருவி பாயும் திருமலைமே லெந்தைககு
இரண்டருவி மொனா யிசைந்து (III, T A 63).

சாழ்ந்தெயும் நீர்முகியும் உலகமுதும் சககாரமும்
சூழரவும் பொனனாணும் தோன்றுமால்—சூழும்
திரண்டருவி பாயும் திருமலைமே லெந்தைககு
இரண்டருவி மொனா யிசைந்து (III, T A 63).

இசைந்த அரவமும் வெற்பும் கடலும்
பசைந்தவ கழுது படுப்ப—அசைந்து
கடைந்த வருத்தமோ கசகிவெவிகா காவில
கிடந்திருந்து நின்றதுவும் அங்கு. (III, T. A 64).

கடைந்த அரவமும் வெற்பும் கடலும்
பசைந்தவ கழுது படுப்ப—அசைந்து
கடைந்த வருத்தமோ கசகிவெவிகா காவில
கிடந்திருந்து நின்றதுவும் அங்கு. (III, T. A 64).

Verse 63 which is between 62 and 64 is the one which has been construed by some to indi-

cate that in Pevalvars view the Deity in Vengadam was of the dual form of Hara and Hari (Siva and Vishnu) The first word of this verse 63 is the last word of the previous (62) one It reads

தாழ்ந்தடையும் கீழுமுடியும் ஒண்மழுதும் சக்கரமும்
குழாயும் பொன்னாணம் தோனதமரல—குழும்
நிரண்டருவி பாயும் நிரும்புமே வெத்தைத்த
இரண்டருவி மொனரு விதைத்த (III T A. 63)

சாழ்ந்தடையும் கீழுமுடியும் ஒண்மழுதும் சக்கரமும்
குழாயும் பொன்னாணம் தோனதமரல—குழும்
நிரண்டருவி பாயும் நிரும்புமே வெத்தைத்த

இரண்டருவி மொனரு விதைத்த

The long hanging Jata and the High peaked crown the shining malu (axe) and the Chakram, the encircling (or coiling round) serpent and the gold waist thread are seen (on the form of the Deity) Therefore in my Father on the Tirumalai (hill) where flow the winding streams swollen with water, the two forms seem harmoniously to combine into one The inference is that the Image was decorated with the long flowing Jata of Hara the high crown or Kiroetam of Hari the serpent coiling round half the body of the image and the gold waist thread over half the loins, and in one hand the malu while in the other hand there was the Chakram It is an absolute truth that the Image has no jata depicted integrally on the Image there is no serpent coiling round any portion of the body There is however the waist string (knai sutram) depicted on the body Neither Chakram Sankham or Malu is

an integral part of the Image. Not one of the mudalalvāis (Tirumalalvāis also is included in this term) has mentioned Chakram and Sankham or any other weapon as being a part of the Image. These are invested under certain conditions only and may be omitted in other cases. This matter has been fully explained in Vol I in Chapter VIII (Murti Svarupam) and in Chapter XII. It is possible that in the early years of the seventh century the image was sometimes decorated in the above manner because there probably was in those days the belief that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are only different forms of the One Being. Peyālṽai says that when he worshipped he found that the Deity was decorated in that manner. But he did not subscribe to the theory that the two represent the same Being. There is however the strong probability that this verse and another one 75 are spurious interpolations made during the Chola period, that is after 1000 A.D. The name used in these two verses for the hill is Tirumalai. In the Prabandham of the ālvāis covering the period from about 500 A.D. to about 800 A.D., this name is not used but only Vengadam. Śrī Nammalvar uses the term Tirumalai to designate the hill adjoining the Tirumalirumsolai temple (Tiruvoy 2-10-4 and 10-7-7) but not for the Vengadam Hill. Even in Peyalvai's songs the term Vengadam alone is used in all other places.

From the inscriptions in Tirumalai, Tirupati and Tiruchchanūr it is seen that the term Tirumalai is used for the first time in an inscription dated the

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seventh day of the reign of Rajendra Chola I (Vol. I 19, 1013 A.D para 3) ' *சென்னை சடர திருமலைத் தரத்தி
சரிபயிற் சடவரவர* ' It is therefore probable that the verse is an interpolation which displaced some old verse which also commenced with *தரத்தி* and ended with *சென்னை* ' The early years of the eleventh century was the period when in Tiruchanur the Siva temple of Parasaresvara was consecrated as a rival to the older Vishnu temple viz Tiruvilankoyil and the Tiruvengadattu Perumanadigal temple in that place That was also the period when Sri Ramanuja's cousin Govinda Bhattar was living in Kalahasti as a zealous Saivite nayanaar attached to that temple. Again it was in those times that Sri Ramanuja was asked to affix his signature assenting to the slogan *Sivat parataram nāsti* which emanated from the court of the Chola King and which resulted in his voluntary exile to the Mysore country of the Vira Ballalas. It was later in the same period that Sri Ramanuja had to establish that the weapons on the Image should be Oliakram and Sankham If these circumstances are taken into consideration the probability of a spurious interpolation (or substitution) of this verse gains ground

That verse 63 is a later day interpolation being a substitute for the original verse which appears to have been deleted will be apparent if verses 61 to 64 are read together It will now be shown that the present verse 63 creates a sudden break in the conti

nuity of thought which should obviously have existed from verse 61 to 64.

In verses 61 and 62 the ālvār gives what is practically the origin of temple worship. He states in verse 61 that “in days of yore (பண்டெலலாம், పండ్లెలమ్), His Koyils for worship were on the Vengadam Hill, the milkey ocean (பாற்கடல், పాల్కుడల్) and Vaikuntham. The great one who condescended to receive a gift with oblations of water has also made the following places His abode—Nīl sōlai Tirumāl-irum-solai, Katigai or ghatikachalam, Viṇnagar (of the young Kumara which is perhaps the name for Paramesvara¹ Vinnagar (61); Viṇnagar (perhaps the name for Uppiliyappan temple or Kālīchchīrama Vinnagar), Vehka, Vēngadam (with its rivulets); Vēlukkai, Ten Kudandai (Kumbakonam), Tiruvarangam (Srirangam), Ten Kōṭṭiyur (Trukkottiyūr) (62).

In verse 64 the ālvār continues in the same strain and speaks of the three postures [“கிடந்திருந்து நின்றதுவும் அங்கு”] in one place. In Kachchi and Vehka, the standing and the reposing postures are referred to. The sitting posture in அங்கு, ie, Kāñchipuram itself, remains unsaid. It is this that was obviously given by the ālvār in a verse for which the present verse 63 has been substituted.

It will be evident that the mind of the ālvār was devoted to making a list of the places of temple worship which had since come into existence in his

1 Paramesvara Potavarman reigned from 670 to 690 A D.

days and the posture of the Image In 61 and 62 the places were listed In 64 the recent places for the standing and reposing postures are given For the sitting posture corresponding to the one in Vaikunṭham, a temple in Kanohipuram should have been given The original verse 63 probably gave that It is now missing having been replaced by the substituted verse "தாழ்ந்தபுறம் தோழந்தபுறம் The ālvār commenced by giving Vengadam, the milky ocean and Vaikunṭham as the original places for the three postures. The recent ones for the standing and reposing posture, have been stated, but not for the sitting posture He would have devoted a verse for this also As the ālvār has given instances from the temples in Kancheepuram the probability is that 'Pādagam was given for sitting posture

Verse 62 ends with the word தாழ்வு, குழி and the present verse 63 commences with தாழ்ந்தபுறம் (குழிக்குறம்) and ends with இறைநத Verse 64 commences with இறைநத (அருள்) The original verse 63 would have commenced with தாழ்வு and ended with இறைநத The temple of Pandava dutar could well have been described commencing with தாழ்வு and ending with இறைநத A reading of the 95th Adhyaya of the Udyoga Parva of the Mahabharata shows that Sri Krishna deigned to appear before Dhritarashtra as the ambassador of the Pandavas and actually stood as a suppliant (a Yāchaka) for peace with a view to save the lives of the gacat

1 Pādagam being for the sitting posture. See also verses 28 to 32.

princes who were present at the durbar and of the millions of the subjects of the Empire which a war was bound to destroy. He reasoned out his case convincingly (இரங்க) The present verse 63 commencing with தாழ்வையம் is decidedly a spurious interpolation

In verse 75¹ திருமலை appears to have been substituted for பெருமலை just to show that the ālvār has used the term திருமலை twice in his work. The conception in v. 75 that the hill shot up to touch or graze the heavens (சாந்தகடு தேயப்பத தடாவிய கோட்டுச்சிவாய) would be better expressed by calling it பெருமலை (o great hill) than திருமலை (Tirumalai) In verse 6^c Vengadam Hill is said to belong to the one (Sri Krishna) who in times of yore pelted a calf to make a wood apple fall from the tree “வேங்கடமே மேலொருநாள, விளங்கனிகருக் கனறெறிநதான வெறபு, மேகமே மேயுநா, வொங்கொழு க்ருந்தெய்யை வெய்யு”. In verses 70, 71, 72 and 73 also the hill is said to be the place of Sri Krishna.

Verse 73 gives the further information that during his northerly course the sun moves over to

1 சாந்தகடு தேயப்பத தடாவிய கோட்டுச்சிவாய
ஊநாநதியங்கும வெணமதியி னொணமுயலைச—சோந்த
சினவேங்கை பாராகும் தீநுமலையே ஆயன
புனவேங்கை நானும பொருப்பு (II T A 75)

சுந்தரது தேயுத்தவைய ஸ்ரீபுத்தியாய்
ஈர்நி யொருங் வெய்யுதியி னொணமுயலை—சுந்த
செய்யுந் பார்ஈயும மருமலையே அயன்
புன செய்ந் நானும பார்ஈயு

the Vengadam hill This perhaps shows that the alvār visited Tirumalai in Uttarayanam, just after the Rathasapthami since the seven horses of the sun's chariot are referred to therein "Having directed Ravi's Ratha voked to the seven (horses) right and left He rests in the Vengadam Hill in the north "

இடமவல மேழபூண்ட இரவித் தேரோட்டி
வடமுத வேங்கடத்து மன்னும்— "

" ఇదకు పునుట్ల పూరి ఇది శ్రీకృష్ణ
పాదాశ్చ శంఖదత్తు మమ్ముం "

Verse 89 distinctly says that Vengadam is the hill of the one who applied the exquisite flute to His lips (Sri Krishna) and that the Kurabas or Kuravars when they could spare time ploughed the ground and sowed the seeds of Tinal (தினல் 02) which sprouted and grew to the size of tall bamboos piercing the skies. We thus learn that in Pey ālvārs days the Kuruvars were taking to the raising of dry food crops when they could spare the time from their elephant capturing occupation

'முடிசை பொழுதில குறவாணர் என
படிசைமுடிசை பைசுதினைகள் விதை—தடிசைதெழுசை
வேயவாழைபோய வின்திறக்கும் வேங்கடமே மேலொருகை
நெருமுலவாய வைத்தான சிலம்பு (11 T A. 89)

మడివ్వు పొழுదిరి మునాని వీధి
పడిమిల్ల పాల్ పైవై గోవిత్తు కడిమిపూర్తి
శేయిల్ల పోయి విత్త శిలమ్మల శంఖము మూల పాల్
సింపిల్ల పాల్ పైపూర్తి శంఖ

There can be no doubt that Sri Peyālvar considered Vengadam as the sacred place of Vishnu for His archa form

Tirumalisai Alvar.

Tirumalisai alvār's Nanmukhan Tiruvandādi and Tiruchchanda viruttam contain verses which give a realistic picture of the hill, its rivulets and the wild animals leading their natural life therein. It is unnecessary for us to go into details about these. They are however interesting. He seems to have visited the hill on more than one occasion and to have made a close study. The unexploited virgin forest of the hill is described in Tiruchchanda viruttam, v 60 "He stands on the Vengadam hill characterised by its dense fog. The autogenous tall bamboos fall to the ground, dry up, decay, sprout again and grow to great heights "

“செழுங்கொழும் பெருமணி பொழிந்திட உயாந்தவேய
விழுந்துலாந்து எழுந்து விண்புடைகளும் வேங்கடத்துளரின்று
“வழங்குழை முடி பெய்ந்து விழிநீட சுயர்நீய்
வழங்குழை முடி பெய்ந்து விழிநீட சுயர்நீய் ”

About the wild life therein he says (Nan. Muk Tiruvandādi v 47) that therein live lions and lionesses; therein are precious stones, pearls, flowering plants and trees in the forests through which roll the cool waters of the rivulets, and therein also thrive in plenty elephants and monkeys "

“தனமணி வண்ணனூர் ஆனியும் கோளரியும்
பொன்மணியும் முத்தமும் பூமரமும்—பன்மணி நீ

శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము
శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము (N M T 47)

శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము
శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము
శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము
శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము

It is interesting to read about his pilgrimage to Vengadam. In verse 34 he says that his desire (శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము) was to go to Tirukkoṭṭiyūr to worship the Deity there (శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము), but how could the Deity on the Vengadam Hill be ignored? శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము. He has the power to protect us from the ill effects of the karmas of our life (శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము). N M. T. 34 He then says that He used to call Tiruvengadattian in order to see him (శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము) to go to his Hill (v 39). He corrects himself and says I sang it as Hill! I stand here looking forward to go to Heaven (Vidu, శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము), standing here I contemplate on it. I am caught in the net of the Feet of the Consort of the Lady (Lakshmi), శ్రీమద్రామాయణము శాసనము బాసనము caught in the net of the form of sacred Lore, v 40. He continues in v 41 ' I long to attend the Ōṇam festival so vociferously celebrated and see the rivulets which shed pearly stores along their beds. O Vēṇṇadavā you are lovingly approaching me. By going

over to Vengadam You have got into my heart" The ālvār could not contain himself. He wants every Bhakta to share his joy. So in verses 42 and 43¹ is the exhortation to all men to go and worship the high Vengadam hill because it possesses the virtue of steadily rooting out all Karmas—there the four faced one seated on the lotus and the Three eyed one daily worship His Holy Feet (of the Deity there). Siva (who wears the Moon on his Jāta and Brahma who is on the Lotus flower go there by night holding aloft the umbrellas befitting their position to seek salvation (கவகுல புகுநதாராகள் காப்பணிவான, கங்குர் புருந்தாரகர் காப்புவின). In verse 44 he exhorts all men who have children (family) (குமரருள்ளீர், குமரபுள்ளீர்) to go and worship there. He then describes in verse 45² where and how the Image is. He says that the great One deigned out of His

- 1 மவகுலதோய சென்னி வடவேங் கடத்தானை
கவகுல புகுநதாராகள் காப்பணிவான—திங்கள்
சடையேற வைத்தானும் தாமரை மேலானும்
குடையேறத் தாங்குவித்தக கொண்டு. (N T 43)

மங்குலதோய் சென்னி வடவேங்கடத்து
கவகுல புருந்தாரகர் காப்புவின—திங்கள்
சடையேற வைத்துநம் தாமரை மேலுநம்
குடையேறத்து வந்துநின்று.

- 2 புரிநது மலரிட்டுப் புணடிநீகப் பாதம்
பரிநது படுகாடு நிற்ப—தெரிநதெங்கும்
தானோங்கி நின்றான தண்ணருவி வேங்கடமே
வானோங்கும் மண்ணோங்கும் வைப்பு. (N T. 45)

loving concern for our salvation to rest His Holy Feet on deforested ground which was decorated with the choicest flowers placed by devotees and is standing out prominently so as to make Himself visible from every where. That place Vengadam with the cool waters of its rivulets is (therefore) the most valued sacred asset for celestials and terrestrials alike. We learn from this description that there was not in those days any structure enclosing the Image, but that the Image stood high and was visible to bhaktas coming from every direction.¹ In verse 48 the ālvār reaffirms that it is a fact that Vengadam is the place where celestials go to for worship, that Vengadam is really the place which destroys the ills of Karmas and that Vengadam is the hill which is the (earthly) abode of Him who with his chakram and other weapons destroys the Dānavas and assures protection to the celestials. From verse 46 it is seen that in the ālvārs days elephant hunt by the Kuravars (Kurabas) was common.

The benefit accruing from an unwavering faith in and sincere worship of the Deity on the Venga

పురిష్ట మురిష్ట పుష్కర పాదమ్
 పదిష్ట పదుకాదు విష్ణు—రెన్దిష్టామ్
 రానోజ్జీవిష్టాన్ రణగ్రహి ప్పజ్జమ్
 వానోయ్కామ్ మనోయ్కామ్ పైర్వ

1 The term పురిష్టాదు means పురిష్టపబ్బాదు శాస్త్రం, forest which has been felled down. పరిష్కృత means in loving condescension అలంబ్య means a legacy or bequest.

dam Hill is thus summed up by the ālvār in verse 90—“Those whose ambition it is to sit in state and reign in the heavenly regions have been with unfaltering devotion placing the choicest flowers at the Feet of Vengadattān in sincere worship and those who prefer to lead a higher and nobler life have been at all proper seasons doing sincere worship in the proper manner and with humility”.

Tiruppanalvar.

There is only one point worth noting about Vengadam in the ten verses sung by this ālvār. Vengadam is the place where Vānavar or the celestials worship the Supreme Being at Sandhi (at dusk and dawn). “He who in Arangam is reposing on

“*మఱికి పాయవడ వేడుకడ మామలై వానవాకన్
శఱికి శెయ్యదిన్ గుణజగదు కత్తర వీణ్ణెయ్యాన్*”.

“*సుందిపాయ్ పడ వేజడ మామలై వానవర్గళ్
శన్ది శెయ్యున్ టాన్ అరజ్జ త్తర వనజైయన్*”.

the Serpent, is standing on the monkey infested Vada Vēngadam Hill to be worshipped by the

1. వీరధిరుడతు వీణ్ణణ్ణ వేణ్ణెవరా వేడుకడతతాన్
పాల తిరుగత వైతతారే పలమలకన్—మేలతిరుగత
వాழువార వరుమతి పారతతు అనపిన్రాయ మఱవకకే
తాళువార యిరుపపార తమా. (N M T 90),

వీరధీరున్దు విన్నాళ్ళవేణువార్ వేజడతాన్
పాల్ తిరుక్కు వెత్తారే పల్మలర్గళ్—మేల్తిరున్దు
వాళివార్ పుముపార్ తు అన్బినరాయ్ మఱి మవర్కే
తాళి వాయుప్పార్ తమర్.

celestials at the Sandhis (v 3) His impression probably was that terrestrials worship in Srirangam and only celestials in Vengadam Hill

Kulasekhara alvar

From the songs of Kulasekhara ālvār known as Perumāḷ Tirumoli (IV 1) we learn that in his days there was some sort of a Koyil or temple in Vengadam wherein the timber of the Tumbaka and Champaka trees were used. The Kōṇēri or sacred pond is referred to, Rudra, Brahma and Indra daily turn up to worship the Lord of Vengadam (Vengadakkōn) (IV 3)

“ பினனிபுட சடைபாளும் பிரமனும் இந்திரனும்
 துன்னிடுப புலகரிப னைஞ்சுந்த நீனவாசல
 பினவடச் சுடாழி வேலகட்கோன தானுமிழும்
 பொன்னகடகல பிடிததுவடனே புலபெறுவே குமேனே”
 கிஷ்டு கழையுநங் கிழங்குங் கி கிழங்கு
 கிஷ்டு கழையுநங் கிஷ்டு கிஷ்டு
 கிஷ்டு கழையுநங் கிஷ்டு கிஷ்டு
 கிஷ்டு கிஷ்டு கிஷ்டு கிஷ்டு கிஷ்டு

It is also seen from this verse that there was some kind of daily worship carried on by an archaka and that devotees had to stand outside the door-step of the Nīlvāsal

Sri Nammalvar

To Sri Nammālvār the Vengadam Hill and the Deity thereon are as sacred as to the Early ālvārs. At the different stages of his spiritual advancement

and psychic experiences Thuvōṅgadamudaiyan (Sri Venkatēsvara) has been considered as the archa (Image) manifestation of the Supremo Being Nara-yana for our benefit

The first hundred verses of his Tiruvāymoli are devoted to a concise exposition of the Upanishadic philosophy and the Puranic account of the celestial and the cosmogonic creations—how the Formless Supreme Being assumed innumerable forms having special attributes and powers concomitant thereto and comprehensible to the appropriate jiva as—

“He who is Pure Sat (having no form) and assumed a Form which is the seed from which sprang the Three (Mūvar) and the numerous Heavenly Beings (Nityas), Munis, others and all else without exception Further It manifested itself on the unfathomable waters and took its abode thereon He is the Inscrutable one (Māmāyan), Vaikunthathan, the Lord of the Nityas and my Lord ”¹

The Alṽar sings the glory of the Lord and how the Nityas and the other heavenly beings enjoy His

¹ தானோ நுருவே தனிவிததாயத தன்னில மூவா முதலாய
வானோ பலரும் முனிவரும் மறறும் மற்றும் முற்றுமாயத
தானோ பெருநீர் தன்னுள்ளே தோற்றி யதனுட் கணவளரும்
வானோ பெருமான மாமாயன வைஞர தனெம்பெ ருமானே.

Tiruvay 1-5-4

தானோருவ தனிவிததாய தனில மூவா முதலாய
வானோ பலரும் முனிவரும் மறறும் மற்றும் முற்றுமாயத
தானோ பெருநீர் தன்னுள்ளே தோற்றி யதனுட் கணவளரும்
வானோ பெருமான மாமாயன வைஞர தனெம்பெ ருமானே.

company Mortals can have no more than an imaginative conception of it For the maintenance of the Dharmas, for the protection of His bhaktas and for the destruction of Adharmas (evil forces) He manifested Himself in His Vibhava Forms at different times. Jivas of those times enjoyed His company Sri Nammalvar then says that for the benefit of mortals of this age He has manifested Himself on the Vengadam Hill in a Form adored equally by the celestials and the terrestrials (im mortals and mortals)¹ The Hill itself is sacred to the heavenly beings as it is to terrestrials Tirumallisai alvar has characterised the hill as legacy for celestials and terrestrials

"வரனோர்க்கும் மன்னோர்க்கும் கைபடி
காநீயுடன் வந்தோடுங் திருந்

It has to be noted that Vengadam is the first place on earth mentioned by the alvar whereon the Supreme Being deigned to manifest Himself as an Image. In verse 1-5-4 His manifestations on the ocean and in Vaikuntham (the Heavens) were referred to The same assurance has been given us by Sri Pey alvar

¹ கன்னனா கன்னதம மன்னோலின் னோர்க்குத்
தன்னா வேகாட வின்னோர் கெற்பன

(Tiruvay 1-3-3)

கன்னா நுநு வந்தோர் கல் லோடு
தன்னா கந்த வந்தோர் கலுந்

He who has at all times been equally the most beloved (Kap pin or the apple of the eye) of the celestials and the terrestrials has manifested Himself on the Vengadam Hill (which is also) so dear to the celestials "

in verse 61 of his Mūnram Tiruvandādi already referred to on page 1129 infra¹ The psychic experience of Sri Nammālvār at the time he made this statement about the sanctity of Vengadam should be duly taken into account The feeling was that God had taken complete possession of his body and soul purely out of His grace and not as the direct result of the ālvar's wish or attempts². How then could He ever desert him³. "For those who (seek

1 పణడెలలరామ వేదకడమ పాఠకడల వైవరూతమ
కొండెడల క్రూరవారాకకుక కౌయిలబోల—

సజ్జలమ్ జేజడమ్ పాల్కుడల్ నై కుప్పమ్
కొణ్ణన్ కుట్రవారుక్ కొయిల్ వోల్

2 యాద్రొడ్డి యెనను ళిరుతతువ మెననిలన
తాద్రొడ్డి వనతెన తనిరెర్రుసె వరుసితతు
జాద్రొడ్డి నినెరెన నుయిరిర కలనక్రియల
వాద్రొడ్డి మోవిని యెననెన రెక్కిమకకవే (1-7-7).

యాన్టె యెన్ను ఖరువతువ పెన్టిన్
తాన్టె వన్టెన్ తని క్కై వజ్జెత్తు
జాన్టె నిన్టెన్ నుయిల్ కలనియల్
వాన్టె మో విని యెన్నె నెగ్గి క్కవే.

3 అకలి లకలు మణుకి లణుక్రమ
పుకలు మగియన్ పొరువలల నెమ్మాన
నికరిల వనపుకమ పాడి యిజాపటిలమ్
పకలు మిరళమ్ పడినతు క్రుడెండే. (1-7-10).

అగలి లగలు మణుగి లణుగుమ్
పుగలు మరియల్ క్కెపారువల్ నెమ్మాన్
నిగరిల వన్ పుగల్ పాడి యిజాపటిలమ్
పగలు మిరళమ్ పడిన్దు కుడెన్డే.

Him for a boon and then) part from Him He will be far off, for those who approach Him (for no boons) He will always be with them Let us without a feeling of fatigue or satiety sing His glory by day and by night ceaselessly

Incidentally it is worth mentioning here that the second archa form of the Supreme Being which the ālvār glorifies is Tirukkurungudi Nambi' (1 10 9) The tradition is that not having a son for many years the ālvār's parents made a long penance before Tirukkurungudi Nambi to be blessed with a worthy son and that Sri Nammalvar (Kāri Māran) was the Divine gift in answer to their prayers No wonder that the ālvār sang the glory of that Deity next after Vēṅgadam But for his faith that on the Vengadam Hill the Deity is self manifest Brahman he would have placed Tirukkurungudi first (see also verses 1 and 2 of Tiruvaymoli 3-9)

The second centum is devoted to a detailed description of the stages of spiritual development experienced by the ālvār He appreciates that this

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1. கம்பியைத் தென்குறைய குழியினறவுச்
செம்பெருந் திருமுடி திருமுடிநிலை
கம்பத் கானவத் சூழியகுறையநிலை
கம்பியை கானவ செவ்வியைப்படு (Tiruvay 1 10-9)
- கம்பியை வெட கம்பியை
கம்பியை கம்பியை
கம்பியை கம்பியை
கம்பியை கம்பியை

was made possible only by the association of the soul with the perishable body which in itself is a divine gift as much as the spiritual experiences made possible thereby. In the short period of a single birth it was by the Divine grace that he was enabled to achieve all that he did which in the normal course could only be accomplished by the successful practice of Karma yoga, Gnana yoga and Bhakti yoga over a series of births¹.

He glorifies in Tiruvāymolī 2-4 and 2-5 this achievement in the company of a congregation of bhaktas singing, dancing and describing in detail the numerous forms and names of the Supreme Being, his divine ornaments and weapons. Although beyond description by our limited knowledge; still He allows Himself to be seen in the only manner open to His bhaktas. The different stages of spiritual conception are described in (2-6) until the ānanda stage is reached (2-6-8)².

¹ குறிகொள ஞானங்க ளாலெனை யூழி செயதவமும்
கிறிகொண டிப்பிறப் பேசில நாளி லெய்தினன்யான
உறிகொண்ட வெண்ணையபா லொளித துணனு
மம்மானபின
நெறிக்கொண்ட நெஞ்சமுயப் பிறவித துயாகடிநதே
(Tiruvāy 2-3-8)

சுஃக்ரீஷ் ஞானங் காலநை யூழி செய்வமும்
கிஃக்ரீஷி பிஃஷி ஸ்ரீநாடி லெய்தினன் யான்
சுஃக்ரீஷி ஸ்ரீநாடி ஸ்ரீநாடி மமநாத் பிந்
சுஃக்ரீஷி ஸ்ரீநாடி பிஃஷி யுந் கடிந்

² மாறி மாறிப் பலபிறப்பும பிறந்ததெய யடைநதுள்ளந தேறி
ஈறி லின்பத் திருவெள்ளம் யான்பழங்கினன்

It is at this climax that the ālvār sees in the Deity on the Vengadam Hill his Father the supreme Being and the one who destroyed Vāli "You have rubbed yourself into me How can you go elsewhere hereafter" ¹

In the next verse (2-6-10) he again says that He the Paraman is on the Vengadam Hill, the Paraman the Lord of the three worlds who in the past, the present and the future is his mother father and saviour has got into his heart and that He will

பாரிப பாரி பகர்த்தம பலகுழாயகன கீடுழப பாயபறவை
பெனறு
எரி வீற்றிருத்த தாயுனண எனனுன கீடுகே வெந்தாய
(Tiru. 2-6-8.)

மூலி மூலி மூல பிழைநீர் பிழைநீர் மூலநீர்
மூலி மூலநீர் மூலநீர் மூலநீர் மூலநீர்
மூலி மூலநீர் மூலநீர் மூலநீர் மூலநீர்
மூலி மூலநீர் மூலநீர் மூலநீர் மூலநீர் [மூலநீர்]

1 எந்தாய தன்னிரு வேககடத்தன மினகு மிலகனை செற்றாய
மாரமாரம

மபந்தா மோருருவ மோருவாவி மோந்த மிலகா
மோந்தா தன்னனை துழாவின பழுதே புனண பென
ஹனே குழைத்தமெம
மமந்தா மமனேதே மினிபெயருப மோகினதே (2-6-9)
மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் மமாய்
மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் மமாய்
மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் மமாய்
மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் மமாய் [மமாய்]

not be allowed to depart therefrom (பரமா தண திரு வேங்கடமேகினராய், సూర్య చంద్ర పంచమేకస్యమ్). Immediately after reaching this stage the alvar sings his 'Hallelujah' of the twelve sacred names of Narayana (dvādasa nāmam)—Kēsava, Narayana, Madhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Sridhara, Hrishikēsa, Padmanābha and Dāmōdara. The ālvār was not content with reciting verses in praise of the twelve names only, he wedges in the Deity on the Vengadam Hill' (வேங்கடம் நலவெற்பன, వేంగడమ్ నల్ వెల్పున్) between Padmanābhan and Dāmōdaran, because the Supreme Being is self manifest on the Vengadam Hill and should be remembered at the proper moment. The spiritual experiences of the Alvār mount to the highest pitch. He prays to God to admit him to be always under His Holy Feet and keep him away from evil thought and deed. He gives expression to his realisation of the relationship between God and man in verses 2-9-8, 9 and 10. "Take full posses-

- 1 பரீப நாபனு யாவறவுயரும் பெருநதிறலோன
எறபர னெனனை யாககிக கொண்டெனககே தனனை ததநத
கறபகம் எனனமுதம் காராழகில் போலும் வேங்கடநல்
வெற்பன் விகம்போர் பிரர்னெந்தை தாமோதரனே (2-7-11)

పల్పు నాభను యర్ వలపుయరుమ్ పెరునిలలోన్
పల్పులు నెన్నె యాక్కిన్కొణ్డెనక్కే తన్నెత్తన్
కల్పుకమ్ ఎన్నముదమ్ కార్యుగిల్ పోలుమ్ వేడడ నల్
పల్పుల్ విళుప్పూర్ పిరానెన్దె దామోదరనే.

sion of me as my Eternal Father and abide therein. I will never wish for anything more 'unable to realise myself I have been under the delusion 'I and Mine "I am Thyself and am Thine "Take me to Thy Feet Do not allow me to be separated therefrom He was in the prime of life at this period. The mind had achieved the highest spiritual development. He was anxious that the activities of the sense organs of the material body should also be diverted from the material to the spiritual plane. Image worship offered the only possible means for this diversion. The nearest hallowed place for such worship was Tirumal lrum solai He repaired to this famous temple worshipped and sang verses in praise of the Deity—who like the Deity on the Vengadam Hill is a standing Murti. The desire grew in him to worship the Deity on the Vengadam Hill itself So he repaired thereto. His firm faith in the Lord of the Vengadam Hill and the stirring appeal which his devotional songs in praise of that Deity made to the hearts of Sri Tirumalai Nambl and to Sri Anandāḷvar are of classic importance to all Sri Vaiṣṇavas (Tiruvaymōḷi 3-2 3-4 and 3-5) In the ten verses of 3-2 he exhorts bhaktas to repair to Vengadam before old age sets in and to worship Sri Vengadattan carrying on their head water, flowers, deepam and dhūpam just as the celestials are said to do for worship there These verses will be found in Chap II (Vol I) He describes the Deity as seen with his spiritual eyes in the ten verses of 3-4 Those who feel puzzled about the identity

of the Murti may well be referred to verse 10¹. "He is every thing living and non-living in creation and yet He is untouched by their respective conditions of life, He is beyond description by our senses; He could be perceived by the mind, He pervades all embodied souls but unaffected by their acts and desires. If one rises to the height of complete detachment from the material body and its weal and woes, He could be got at".

In the height of joy to sing the praises of Vengadam he advises all to forget themselves, their position in life, and how others will look at them, but go on singing His names and dancing through towns and deserts² (3-5-8). Such men will be worshipped by the Immortals. This visit of the ālvār to Vengadam marks the third stage of his spiritual advancement

¹ யாவையும் யவரும் தானாய அவரவா சமயம் தோறும்
தோயவிலன் புலனைந் துகரும் சொலப்படான உணர்வின்
மூததி

ஆவிசே ருயிரி னுள்ளான ஆதுமோரா பற்றிலாத
பாவனை யதனைக கூடில அவனையும் கூடலாமே. (3-4-10).

யுபைநுய் யவருய் சாநாய் அநர்நர் சமயுய் வீலுய்
வீலுய்லுய் - புலநை ஸ்குய் சீலநுய் கருநுய் மூரி
அவிசே ருயிரி ஸ்குய் அமமூர் ஸ்ரீலாத
சாநை யுடநை க்குடீர் அநநையுய் கருடலுய்

2. வார்புன லந்த ணருவி வடதிரு வேங்கடத தெந்தை
போபல சொல்லிப் பிதற்றிப் பிததரென் நேபிறா கூற
ஊபல புக்கும் புகாதும் உலோகர் சிரிகக நினருடி
ஆர்வம் பெருகிக குணிப்பார் அமரா தொழப்படு வாரே.
(3-5-8)

and is his first visit. In the pattern of Bhakti worship which Sri Nammalvār describes and which exacts the admiration of even the celestials all can take part without distinction of caste—caste has no place therein. The ālvār posits that even to a non caste chandala who is a Vishnu Bhakta he would, with pride be a slave' (3-7-9)

He implores all to become Vishnu bhaktas. In his appeal to poets not to prostitute the great gift of the Muse to sing the praise of men just to make a living he says that he for one would sing only the praise of the God on the Vengadam Hill (3-9 ten verses) and next of the Deity in Tirukkurungudi (his family Deity). He found it desirable and even necessary to start a propaganda campaign to wean away

వాద్యుల ంద్ద గమని పురియ వేదతల్లి నై
 పేర వల కొలి వీదట్టి వీరైతల్లి పిఱి మాట
 యోర వల పుక్కున్ పుగారున్ ఉరొగర్ శిర్క్క నివ్వాడి
 అరవన్ పెరిగక్క పచ్చార్ అమరర్ రొమ్మ పుడునార

1 కులకథామత్ర శాస్త్రము కాలియమ క్రియిక్రియై అతతము
 కలకథా నిలకథ శంకరాన శంకరాన శంకరియమ
 కులకథామత్ర శంకరాన తంకరాన మనిలకథాన

కాదెనైతల

కలకథా అధిపతితమ అధిపతి అమమకథా (8 7 9)

యవ్వైన్ శాస్త్రకథానైల్ క్రియిక్రియై పత్తై
 అవ్వా నిలక శంకరా శంకరా శంకరియన్
 అవ్వాన్ శంకరా శంకరా శంకరా శంకరా శంకరా
 అవ్వా అదియార్ అదియార్ అదియార్ అదియార్

men from the worship of the lower deities for obtaining temporary and temporal boons. There were also other religions which have no faith in the Vedas and the Vedic Deities. Tho ālvār realised that his evangelical work should not end with preaching to those who believe in the Vedas and in Vishnu worship. He therefore inaugurated his campaign in the Vishnu temple of Adinātha in his own village Tirukkurukur (4-10 ten verses) and addressed himself specially to Saivites Lingaists, Jains, Buddhists (followers of Sākya muni) and in fact to followers of the six systems of philosophy (ஆறு சமயம்). His efforts met with success which he exultingly sings in ten verses of 5-2'. He says that 'Kali Yugam has ended and Krita Yugam has set

1 பொலக பொலக பொலக போயிற்று வல்லியிச்சி சாபம்
நலியும் நாகழம் நைந்த நமனுக்கு இங்கு யாதொன்று மில்லை
கலியும் கெடும்கண்டு கொண்டின் கடல்வண்ணன் புதங்கள்
மண்மேல்
மலியப் புதந்துஇசை பரடி ஆடி யுழிதரக் கண்டோம்
(5-2-1).

பாலிக் பாலிக் பாலிக் போயிற்று வல்லியிச் சாபம் -
நலியும் நாகழம் நைந்த நமனுக்கு இங்கு யாதொன்று மில்லை
கலியும் கெடும் கண்டோம் கண்டோம் கண்டோம் கண்டோம்
கலியும் கெடும் கண்டோம் கண்டோம் கண்டோம் கண்டோம்

கண்டோம் கண்டோம் கண்டோம் கண்டோம் கண்டோம்
கண்டோம்
தொண்டர் எல்லோரும் வாரித் தொழுது தொழுதுநின் றரித்தும்
.... .. (5-2-2.)

in, Yama has no more work and the angels of the Lord are come and are dancing in ecstasy because the heretical seats have been destroyed. May this gain in strength and glory He found that Vishnu bhaktas had grown in numbers and in strength

He exhorts all to worship Achyuta the true God reciting the Vedic Riks without swerving from the path prescribed for jñāna mārga (true

ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து
ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து ஈர்த்து

திரிபும கலிபும கீதமெத தேவகன நாமம் புருத்த
பெரிய மெதபும பற்றிப பேரினப வெள்ளம் பெருக
(5-2-8)

கரியும் : வியும் கிந்தி சீர்த்து காரும் புருத்த
கரியும் : வியும் கிந்தி சீர்த்து காரும் புருத்த

இடமகொள சம்பத்தத பெல்லமம் எடுத்துக் கையென
பேரமெ
தடவகல பற்றிப பெருமகன தன்னுடைப பூதகன கையென
மெதம இருதம எழுத்தம கீதம பல பண்பாடி
கேத்தம புருத்தம குனிதம கையென செய்கின்றனவே
(5-2-4)

கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து
கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து
கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து
கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து கவர்த்து

knowledge) with flowers deepam, dhūpam, chandanam and water¹ (5-29)

He continued to carry on unabated his evangelical mission, visited and sang the praise of the Deity in many temples some of which were probably newly consecrated at his instance. He sang about Tirukkurungudi Nambī Who gave the ālvār a distinct vision while yet awake (5-5 ten verses), about the Deity in Sirīvara mangalam (Vānamāmalai) (5-7 ten verses); about Sri Arāvamudan of Tirukkudanda (5-8 ten verses); and about the Deity in Tiruvallavāḷ (5-9 ten verses). His prayer, in addition to the evangelical work, was to see God face to face; and therein he did not succeed. He sang about the Deities in Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr (6-1 ten verses), Tiruvinnagar (6-3), Tiruttolaivillī mangalam, (6-5) Tirukkōḷur (6-7). He could not rest content without seeing God. He did Saranāgati to the Deity in every temple he sang. As his desire remained unfulfilled he sang in great distress and in the highest pitch the ten verses of 6-9 (கொடியேன் பாலவாராய் ஒருநாள) There was no response.

- 1 மேவித தொழுதுயம்மி னீர்கள் வேதப் புனித விருககை
நாவிற கொண்டசு சுதனதனனை ஞான விதிபிழை யாமே
பூவிற புகையும் விளககுஞ் சாந்தமும் கீரும மவிநது
மேவித தொழும்பி யாரும் பகவரும மிகக துலகே (5-2-9).
மேவித் தொழுதுயம்மி னீர்கள் வேதப் புனித விருககை
நாவிற கொண்டசு சுதனதனனை ஞான விதிபிழை யாமே
பூவிற புகையும் விளககுஞ் சாந்தமும் கீரும மவிநது
மேவித தொழும்பி யாரும் பகவரும மிகக துலகே (5-2-9).

It was in this predicament that he decided to throw himself at the Feet of Tiruvengadattān. From the wording of the last line of every verse (6-10) it does not appear that he actually went to Vengadam for this Saranāgati. But his body and soul would have been psychically at the feet of the Lord. He appeals to Him through Goddess Sri Alarmēlmangai who is on his chest to Him of matchless glory the Lord of the three worlds, to Him whom the Immortals and Munies adore, as He is his only Saviour' (6-10 10)

Note —These ten verses as well as the twenty verses of 2-3 and 2-4 distinctly describe the features of the body the divine ornaments and the divine weapons which the ālvar had observed. These have been briefly dealt with in Vol I Chapter VIII (section 3) The presence of Sri Devi on the chest, the Sankham, Chakram and Saṅgam in the hands the

- 1 அகல கிலவேன இறைபுமெனது அவர்மேல மக்கை
புறைமாப்பா
கிசரிச புதழாய, உலகமமுன தடைபாய, எனனை
பாசவானே
கிசரிசமா முனிச்சனங்கக விருமபும திருவேக கடத்தானே
புகவொன நிலை அடியெனவன அடிக்கே ழுமச்சுத
புருத்தேனே (6-10 10)
அகல லீக அழையுமெனது அவர்மேல் மருநு யுனது மார்பு
வகல் துருழாய் கலக மூன்றுயுனது அழை யார்பு
வகல மருநு மருங்குருந் வயறுந் வயல் லுத்தாந்
துருந் வயல் மருந் கலக மருந் துருந்

posture of the right lower hand pointing to the Feet for Saranāgati as the only means to obtain salvation are the principal ones ' 1

This saranāgati proved ineffective because the ālvār himself was aware that he was still the servant, if not the slave, of the five senses. Complete detachment had not been achieved (7-1 ten verses). Sri Ranganatha is praised in (7-2) as if by the mother of the ālvār. He sings about the Deity in Tiruppērai (7-3) and goes through more psychic and spiritual experiences; and one of these opened his eyes to the fact that it was the divine command that he should sing for the benefit of mankind his philosophy fully in the Tiruvavmoli (7-9). Ālvār expresses his gratitude to the Supreme Being 'for

1 అధికతే మూరతు పురుతు అధియో ! వామయి నెనెనెనె
 నరులకొడుక్కు

పడిక్కే మ్రిల్లం బెరుమానెం పమనం కురుకూర శడ
 కౌపం

మధిపపాన్ శానన జ్యోతిరతతుత తిరువేద కడతతుక
 దివెవతతుమ

పిడితతార పిడితతార వీరనిరుతు పెరియ వానం
 నిలావువరో (6-10-11)

అడిక్కి ముక్కోన్ పుగున్ అడియో ! వామో మి నెనెనెనె
 కొడుక్కు

పడిక్కే మ్రిల్లం పెరుమానె పమనం కురుకూర శడగోపం
 మడిప్పో శొన్న-అయిరతు త్తిరువే జడత్తుక్కి నై పతుమ్
 పిడిత్తూర్ పిడిత్తూర్ పిట్టిరున్ పెరియ వానున్ నిలావువరో

singing His praise through his tongue , the words however are all His own.'

- 1 எனறதக்கும் எனனை உயயக் கொண்டு போகிய
அனறதக் கனறெனினத தனனாகி எனனால தனனை
இனதமிழ் பாடிஉ ஈசனை ஆதியாய
சினற எனசோதியை எனசொலவி சிறப்பனே ? (7-9-1.)

அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு

எனசொலவி சிறப்பனே ? எனனின் துயிரின் குருகுல
எனசொலவகல யானசொன்ன இனதவி பெனபிதது
தனசொலவகல தானதனனைச் சோத்தித்த மாயனஎன
முனசொலவகல முனசொலவகல முனசொலவகல (7-9-2)

அந்நாடு அந்நாடு ? அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு

இனதவி பாடிம பாடிம கவிதனான
தனதவி தானதனனைப் பாடிம யாதஇனது
கனசொலவ தனசொலவ அனசொலவ அனசொலவ
வனதவி பாடிமஎன வனசொலவ கனசொலவ (7 9 6)

அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு
அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு அந்நாடு

"It is by His sheer Grace that Sri Vankunthana select me to be the medium for His sweet songs in preference to the several eminent poets who exist. How can I repay this? I am myself His property. There is therefore no way of repaying His grace either here or there" (7, 9-2, 6, 10).

His unsatisfied spiritual craving to see God face to face so much disabled him physically that his attempt to reach Tiruvānavilai and read out his Tiruvaymoli in the presence of the Deity there proved abortive. He meditated and came to the conclusion that his failures were due to the material attachments which he still had. He therefore swore to complete detachment from all material ties. He confesses that his unfulfilled desire to see Vengadavānan had completely broken down his physical body (Tiruvay 8-2-1).¹ It should be clear from this

உதவிகைகம் மாறுஎன னுயிரானென உற்றெண்ணில
அதுவுமற்ற ருங்கவன தன்னது, எனனாலதனை
பதவிய இனகவி பாடிய அபபனுக்கு
எதுவும் ஒன்றுமில்லை செய்வது இங்குமங்கே. (7-9-10)

கடவிட்டே மூலு என் மயிர் என்னு ஈழை
அருவன் வல் ஈழைவன் தன்னு என்னு தன்னு
கடவியு இன்கவி பாடிய அபபனுக்கு
அருவன் உய்வு மூலு உய்யுது இன்குமே.

1.
கோக்கு கின்றேன் எங்கும்காண் மாட்டேன்
சங்கம் சரிந்தன சாயி ழந்தேன்
தடமுலை பொன்னிற மாயதத ளர்ந்தேன்
வெங்கண் பறவையின் பாகன் எங்கோன்
வேங்கட வானின் வேண்டிச் சென்றே. (Tiruvay, 8-2-1)

hat it was Sri Nammālvāra's conviction that Sri Venkatesvara is Self manifest Brahman in the Archa form.

Thereafter he had some exhilarating spiritual experiences including visits to the temples in Tiruchengunrūr (Ch tṭaṭṭamkarai) (1-4) and Tirukāṇḍit-tanam (1-6) In (8-8) he describes his vision of the Brahman within his own heart. In (9-3) he sings in great satisfaction and exhorts his heart to be always with Narayana who is everything¹ In this climax he again refers to the Deity standing on the Vengadam Hill and affirms that He alone destroys all karmas good and bad puts an end to this body (with its the cycle of birth and death) and gives salvation even to the Devas who for that purpose daily go and worship Him there' (9-3-8)

In the advice which in (10 5) he gives to those who have attained a state of detachment from

- 1 அவனே அவனொருவன் படைத்தி டத்தான்
அவனே அ துஉண்டு உயிழைக்கான் அனாதான்
அவனே அவனும் அவனும் அகனும்
அவனேமற நெகலாமும் அநிதனமே. (9-3-2)
அவன் அவன் அவன் அவன் அவன்
அவன் அவன் அவன் அவன் அவன்
அவன் அவன் அவன் அவன் அவன்
அவன் அவன் அவன் அவன் அவன்

- 2 இனிதே போகிறோம்போகும் கெடுதல்
இனிதே போகும் புக்கலம் உய்யக்கொளவான்
உய்ய வேண்டியோடுகொளவான்
கொள வேண்டியோடுகொளவான் (9-3-8)

NAMMALVAR AND VENGADAM

material ties he refers to the Deity in Vengadam who is none other than Madhava

మేయాన వేదకడమ్
 కాయామలా వణణన్
 పేయారా మ్రుళైయనాడ
 వాయాన మాతవణే. (10-5-6)
 మేయాన్ వేదకడమ్
 కాయామలర్ వణణన్
 పేయార్ ములైయనాడ
 వాయాన్ మాధవణే

In the course of his praise of the Deity in Tirumāl-nūm-solai (10-7) he again thinks of Tiruvengadam (10-7-8)

తిరుమాళిరుక్ర శోభయే తిరుప్పాదకడలే యనతయే
 తిరుమాల వైరుక్రతమే తణ్ణ తిరు వేదకడమే (10-7-8)
 తిరుమాలిరు శోలైయే తిరుప్పాదకడలే ఎన్నైయే
 తిరుమాల వైరుక్రమే తణ్ తిరు వేదకడమే

NOTE.—The subject has been dealt with at some length for the benefit of bhaktas who would like to know what the ālvāis have said about the sanctity of the Hill and the Murti standing thereon in days of yore, when there was not even a temple structure to house the Image,

ఇన్దిరప్పగ ఇరువనైయుమ్ కడుత్తు
 ఒన్ది యాక్కై పుగామై ఉయ్యక్కొల్వొక్
 నిన్ద వేదకడమ్ నీళ్ నిలత్తు ఉళ్ళదు
 తేన్దు డేవర గళ్ కైకొల్లు వార్ గళ్.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

APPENDIX VI

(Vide page 853 of the text).

**“Extract from the English Factories in India
by W. Foster.”**

Firman granted to Mr. Day for priviledges in Madraspatam by the Nague Damarla Venkatappa.

Copy dated 22nd aug. 1639.

Firman granted by Domela Venkatadri Nague unto Mr. Francis Day, cheife for the English in Armagon, in behalf of the Honorable company, for their trading and fortifieing at Madraspatam, to this effect as followeth, whereas Mr. Francis Day, captain of the English at Armagon, upon great hopes by reason of our promises offten made unto him, hath repaired to our port of Madraspatam and had personal conference with us in behalf of the company of that nation, concerning their trading in our territories and friendly commerce with our subjects, we out of our spetiall love and favour to the English, doe grant unto the said captain, or whomsoever shall be deputed to idgitate the affairs of that company by vertue of their firman power to direct and order the building of a fort and castle in or about Madraspatam, as they shall think most convenient; the charges where of until fully and wholly finished to bee defrayed by us, but then to bee repaid when the said English shall first make their entrance to take possession thereof And to make more full expression of our affection to the English nation [wee] do confirme unto the said Mr,

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Francois Day or whatsoever other subjects or agents for that company, full power and authority to goerne and dispose of the government of Madraspatam for the term and space of two years next ensuing after they shall be seated there and possess of the said fortifications and for the future by an equal division to receive half the custom and revenues of that port. Moreover whatsoever goods or merchandize the English company shall either import or export, for as much as concerns the duties and costomes of Madraspatam they shall not only for the prementioned two years in which they enjoy the government but for everafter be customfree. Yett if they shall transport or bring any commodities up into or through my country then shall they pay half the duties that other merchants pay, whether they buy or sell the said commodities either in my dominions or in those of any other Nague whatsoever Also that the said English company shall perpetually enjoy the priviledges of minting, without paying any dowes or duties whatsoever, more than the ordinary wages or hire unto those that shall quoyne the moneyes If the English first acquaint us before they dellver out any money to the merchants painters weavers etc which are or shall hereafter reside in our prementioned port or territories and take our word for their sufficiency and honest dealing then do we promise in case these people faile in their performances, to make good to the English all such sums of money as shall remaine upon their accounts or else deliver them

APPENDIX VI

their persons if they shall be found in any part of my territories. That whatever provision the English shall buy in my country, either for port or ships, they shall not be liable to pay any custom or duties for the same. And if any ship or vessel belonging to the English or to any other country whatsoever which tiadeth in that port shall by mis-adventure suffer shipwreck and be driven upon any part of my territories, they shall have restitution upon demand of whatsoever can be found remaining of the said wreck ”.

The above grant was confirmed by the Emperor Venkatapatiraya Maharaya at some date which is not ascertainable now. Among the title deeds handed over by Governor Gifford to his successor in 1687 was one gold plated cowle from Venkataputty Roywelly. It seems to have been lost at sea about 1693 A.D. The new settlement which was growing up near the Fort was given the name of Chennappattanam after Venkataadri's father.

Owing to the changes in the political set-up of the country the English factors considered it desirable and necessary to get the old privileges reconfirmed by Srirangaraya Maharaya, the successor of Venkatapati devaraya Maharaya by obtaining a fresh grant in November 1645 A.D. at Vellore.

Contemporary version of Srirangaraya's grant Nov. 1645.

“In the year Parteeva, the month Carthida, the moon in the wane the King over all Kings the

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Colliest (Holiest) and among all caveleers the greatest Zree Ranga Raya the mighty King God gives this cowle unto agent Thomas Ivie, ohief captain of the English and the company of that nation.

For as mnch as you have left Armagon and are come to Zree Ranga Rayapatam, my towne at first but of small esteeme and have there built a fort and brought trade to that port, therefore that you may bee the better incouraged to prosecute the same and amplifie the town which bears our name we do freely release yon of all customes or dntyes upon whatsoever goods bought or sold in that place appartaining to your company Also we grant unto your company half of all the customes or duties which shall be received at that part and the rents of the ground about the village Madraspatam as also the jacall ground we give you towards by way of piscash Moreover for the better managing your business we eurrender the government and justice of the towne into your hands And if any of your neighbours of Pundamallee shall injure you we promise yon our ready assistance And for what provisions shall be brought out of that country we will that no juckam (جوك) be taken thereon If it fortune that any of your companyes ehips shall by accident of weather or otherwise be driven ashore at that port whatsoever can be saved ehall remain your own And that tho like touching all merchants that trade at that port if the owners come to demand it but if the owner beo not to be found,

APPENDIX VI

then our officers shall seize on the same to our behoofe. We also promise still to retayne the towne in our protection and not to subject it to the government of Pundamallee or any other Nague. And whatsoever merchandise of yours that shall pass through the country of Pundamallee to pay but half custome. In confidence of this our cowle you may cheerfully proceed in your affairs, wherein if any our people shall mollest you, wee give you our faith to your cause into our own hands to doe you right and assist you against them, that your port and this our cowle may stand firm as long as the sunn and moone endureth.

Zree Rama.

NOTE.—The above is in all probability a translation made of the Telugu original grant by Paupas Braminy (Avadānam Paup'iah) the old linguist of Madras under the orders of the East India Company (Diary and Consult F. S. G. Sept 24, 1750 A.D.).



APPENDIX VII.

Vide pages 102 and 527 Vol I of the History

The earliest inscription in the Telugu language and script is No 179 of the first volume of the inscriptions (No. 237-T. T) which records the fixing of gold gilt sikhaiam over the Vimānam of the Tirumalai Temple by Mahamandalēsvaia Mīsara-gaṇḍa Mangideva Maharaya on 14th June 1359 A.D.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

during the reign of the Vijayanagar Emperor
Bukkaraya I of the Sangama dynasty

No 179

(237—T T)

[On the north base (front left side) of inner gōpura
in the second prakāra of Tirumāla Temple]

Text

- 1 న్వస్తిశ్రీ జయాభ్యుదయ శక [వ]
- 2 దువంబులు గూరి [అగునేటి] వికా
- 3 రి పంపవర ఆషాఢ శుద్ధదశమి మ [ం]
- 4 దవారానా న్వస్తిశ్రీ [మ] నృహమండ [లే]
- 5 శ్వర మీనరగండ ముగిదేవమహా
- 6 రాజులు తిరుమలదేవరకు వ
- 7 [ట్రా] దినగగు సువనాకాదిసిఖ
- 8 రమును ఎరించెను ముగళ
- 9 మహా శ్రీశ్రీశ్రీ

Translation

Hail, Prosperity ! On Saturday, the 10th (lunar)
day of the bright fortnight in Āshādhā in the (cyclic)
year Vikāri corresponding to the victorious Śaka
year 1281, the illustrious Mahāmaṇḍaiēśvara Mīśara
gaṇḍa Maṅgideva Mahārāja fixed a golden śikhara
(vase) over the Vimāna (dome) of Tirumaladēva
(Tiruvōṅgalanātha) May prosperity abide !

APPENDIX VIII.

(*Vide page 573 of Vol 1 of the History*).

The edict of the Vijayanagar Emperor Devaraya Maharaya II of the Sangama dynasty numbered I 192 (No. 188-T. T), is in the Kannada language and Telugu script, and the date corresponds to 5th December 1429 A D It records the grant of three villages and a cash endowment for a sumptuous daily food offering and the celebration of a Brah-mōtsavam in Asviya month to Sri Venkatesvara.

No. 192

(No 188—T T)

[On the Baṅgāru-vākili, i.e., door Jamb covered with gilded copper-plate, at the entrance to the Central Shrine in Tirumala Temple]

Text

1. శ్రీజయాభ్యుదయ శాలివా [హ]
2. [న] శకవరుష ౧౩౫౩ నేయ సామే' [సం]
3. [వ] త్వరద 'మాగ=సిర సు ౧౦ సో లు
4. [శ్రీ]మతు తిరుమలె దేవరిగె శ్రీమ[క్]
5. [మ]హారాజాధిరాజ రాజపరమే
6. [శ్వ] ర [శ్రీ] వీరప్ర)తాప దేవరాయ మహా [రా]
7. [య] రు పొడవట్టు కొట్టధంమ=శాశనదే

1 Read సామ్య

2 Read మార్గళ శుద్ధదశమి సోమవారదం.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

- 8 [కొ]పదింద చంద్రగిరియ భండారక
- 9 బాడిరాజ భండారప్రసాద లిసిమన
- 10 రహసావిరద యుంనూరు హొంచుచంద్ర
- 11 [గిరి] య భండారవాడద విక్రమాద్వీప మం
- 12 [గ్ర]హగ్రా ౧ చిరుకూరకాలు సహ ఎళమం
- 13 [డి]యగ్రా ౧ ముంనదేవరిగి సందుబ[జోనా]
- 14 కళరు విజ్ఞాలె గా ౧ అంస్తు గ్రా 3 కం
- 15 సావిర హొంను ఉభయం వరహా ఎరదు
- 16 [సా] విరదయుంనూరు హొంసనూనహ
- 17 [చంగరి] మాడిద కట్టలె నంమహేవ [ర]
- 18 నదవ అవసరక పడి ౧ హరివా [ర]
- 19 3౦ పాయనదహరివాణ ౧ అప్పదహ [రివా]
- 20 [ర] ౧ అంస్తు హరివాణ [33] నుగోధద్రవ్యతి
- 21 గ ఎరదు హిరియపుణుగిసనమప్ప
- 22 కొట్ట అవసర ౧ ఆశ్వయజమాసద¹
- 23 పునవను నక్షత్ర ఆదియాగి స్వాతి నక్ష [త్ర]
- 24 రీధ్ధవాగి నదవ తిరునాళగళ అమిగ
- 25 యవరు సంతరియ హొంనిచలుదరిగ
- 26 హరివాణ [బరి] యహరివాణ గళను
- 27 సమంప్రతియలు మాడిసి కొంబహాగి
- 28 ర సందిగెయ [లు] సమప్నిసి సామ్యసం

1 Read ఆశ్వయజమాసద

APPENDIX VIII

- 29 [న] త్వరదకాత్మిక శుద్ధ షడ్ధానద్వాదశి హ[రి]
 30 [పద:] కాలదలు సహిరంజ్యోదక దాసధా
 31 [రా] పూర్వకవాగి సర్వమాన్యవాగి బిట్టవా
 32 [న]ంను హేసరలు నడవ అవసరసుగ [ం]
 33 ధ ద్రవ్యపుణుగిస పూజిపరు [సం]
 34 [న] తిమ తిరునాళుగళనూ జీవం...
 35 ..మప్రతిమిగ తెయ హేంనను...
 36 . దహరివాణ బిళ్ళిహరివాణ ..
 37 భీతయ సుతాబహరు
 38 .. మూరుగ్రామద బిట్టిసి గా) [మ]
 39 . [ఱు] దాయతళివాఱక.
 40 . హ సర్వమాన్యవాగి బిట్ట .
 41 ఆచం[దా]
 42 [క] వాయి.....
 43 . పొడవరటు కొట్టధనియశా
 44 [స] న

Translation

1-7. This is the *dharma-śāśana* (record of charity) issued for the propitious God of Tirumala (i.e., Srī Vēṅkatēśvara) by Śrīman Mahārājadhīrāja Rājaparamēśvara Śrī Vīrapratāpa Dēvarāya Mahārāya, after his visit, on Monday,¹ being the 10th

NOTE 1 —The equivalent English date is 5th December 1429 A.C

HISTORY OF TIRUPATĪ

lunar day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīra in the Saṁmya year current with the victorious Saka year 1351

8 —to the *Bhaṇḍāra* treasury) of Chandragiri

9 —out of the income of the *Rāja Bhaṇḍāra*

10-14 thousand and two hundred *honnu* (*pon* or *varaha*) and the villages of Vikramādityamaṇḍala Elamaṇḍiya including Chirukūrakālu belonging to the *Chandragiri Bhaṇḍāravāḍa* and the village of Kalaru viddāle previously (granted) to God, totalling three villages

15-16 one thousand *honnu* the two (gifts of) *varahā* together making two thousand and two hundred *honnu*

17-22 the arrangement stipulated, *avasara* (offering) to be made in our name is 1 *paḍi* 30 platefuls of *harivāṇa* (offering) 1 platefuls of *pāyasa* (rice boiled in sweetened milk), 1 plateful of *appa* (sweet cakes), totalling 33 plates, for the holy water prepared of the fragrant herbs two big (cups) for offering *puṇḍugu* (civet) are presented

22 34 a festival to be conducted during the month of Āsvayuja commencing from (the day of) the star Punarvasu to (the day of) Svāti star being the *tīrtharari* (day) with various platefuls of offerings during the different *sandhis* (occasions), (the expenses thereof being met) from the *honnu* now paid and (from the income of the villages) granted with gold through libations of water on the meri

APPENDIX IX

torious occasion, sacred to Hari (Viṣṇu), of the *Uththānadvādaśi*¹ (day) in the bright fortnight of Kārtika in the Saumya year, so as to serve for the offering of (holy food), incense and civet for smearing (the holy body) during the festival . . .

35-37 for the *honnu* shall continue to be offered platefuls (of holy food), platefuls of fresh food... ..

38-44 This is the *dharma-sāsana* issued for the grant of the three villages as *sarvamānya* (tax-free) after a visit, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun endure

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(*Vide p 558 of Vol I of the History*)

The edict of Mahamandalesvara.. Saluva Narasingayyadeva Maharaya contained in II 30 (No. 8-G. T.) (p p 48, 49, 50) is in the Kannada language and Telugu script bearing a date corresponding to 27th December 1467 It records the grants of three villages for the daily food offerings on a sumptuous scale to Sri Govindarajaswami in Tirupati

NOTE 1 —On this day God Viṣṇu is believed to wake up to activity after His four months' repose

The English date is Tuesday, the 8th November 1429 A C

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

No 30

(No 8—G T)

[On the north wall outer face, of the central shrine of Sri Govindarajaswami Temple in Tirupati.]

Text.

1 స్తుస్సస్తి శ్రీశక్తాబ్దం ౧౩౮ [F] మేలెనడవ

సర్వాజ్ఞు సోవత్తురద పువ్యశుద్ధ ౧ ఆ లు శ్రీమన్మహామండ
శ్వర మెదినిమీనరగండ కళారిసాలవ సరసింగయ్యదేవమహా
రాయరుగళు తిరుపతియస్తానికరిగె అటద గోవిందరాజ
దేవర ప్రసాద తిరుమలెయ మురియాదె నాపెల్లరు
హించిగొండు కవిసబేకెందు వమగెహెకలాగినావు చూవా
వరవను

2 శినాథదేవర మురియాదయలె గోవింద

రాజదేవరిగె ఉ [భ] య భవచదయజరుసాల బగెయవరు తిరు
మలెయ వశమాకబేళు గోవిందరాజదేవర నయినేద్య
ప్రసాదవనూ తిరుపతియవరిగె కాణకరాగినావు హరివాణ

ఆరోగయనూడువ కటళెయ ఆరోగణ హరివాణ
దలూ ఐదుమి హరివాణగళను తిరుమలెయ న థి అకపిసలి
పిళుక్కాచనలూ హించిగొంబుదునాగి గోవిందరాజదేవరిగె
మురి సంక్రాంతి కాలదలూ నంను

NOTE 1 — Some of the inscribed slabs are much damaged and the letters on them are almost obliterated

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3. వేద్యకటలైగ పడవిదరాజ్యద ముపదు
 నెట మాంగొడునెలద గ్రామగళలూ అరమనెగెయత్తి బహు
 నిధ నూలవరిగళను బి... తిరుపతియ కెరెగె మణనూరు
 హూదనను కొట్టు కటలైయను మాడిద నయినేద్యక హరివాణ
 యినతారు...హరివాణ వొందు తిరుకణామడె ౧ కె
 యెరడరలెఖదలూ దేవరనయినేద్య నడవహాగె కటలైయ మాడి
 హరివాణదప్రసాద ప్రసాద దహరి వాణగళ విట్టవన్
 విభుకాడిగె హరివాణ ఆరువరె అప ప్రసాద హదిమూరు
 ఆకాళియప్రసాద....

4. . . భవనూ నమగెదమహిషి తిరుపతియలూద
 బణతిరువి గోవిందరాజదేవర నంన్నిధియలొనాయకదేస్త శ్రీ
 రామానుజకూటదలూ ప్రతిదివనగళలూ స్వదేశ పరదేశగళ
 శ్రీవయిష్ణవరుగళిగె .. మాడిదరాగి యీప్రసాదవనూ కందాళ
 రామానుజయ్యగళ శిష్యపారంపరయాగి నంను రామానుజ
 కూటకె నడసిబహుదు తిరుమలెయమేలె నాడకటిద రామానుజ
 కూటదలూ తిరువేంగళనాధదేవర తిరుమజనకాలకె నాడకట
 లైయ మాడిద కపూర కస్తూరి కుంకుమ.

5. . — వర ఆరతియ కపూర అడకఅముదు
 ముంతాద ఉపచారగళు నంను రామానుజయ్యగళ
 శిష్యపారంపరయాగి శాతాద శ్రీవయిష్ణవరు నేవెయపూడిబహ
 హాగ నాడకటలైయమాడిద ప్రకారదలె ఆగోవిందరాజదేవరిగె

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

తిరుమల [న^{శీ}] కాలదలూ సంమనేవయాగి నడనువ రామా
 నుజయ్యగళ కటలేయమాడిద అవరళివ్యపారంపరయాగి
 నడసిబహదు యిదుమొదలాగి గోవిందరాజదేవరు ఆరోగణయ
 నూడువ నయివేద్య లవను తిరుమలెయమరియాదయలె
 హందికొందు తిరుమలె దివన తింగళుమొవలాద వయిభవ
 [గ]ళ మరియాదయలె నడసికొందు బహుదు తిరుచానూర
 అళజయపెరుమాళదేవరిగ నాటి తిరుకేంగళనాథ దేవరభండార
 దలి కటలేయమాడిద యెరదుగుఖాళయివేద్యవను నడసి
 బహుదు తిరువతియలూ తిరువతియవరిగి నడవసామ్య
 గళనూ మరియాదయలె నడవహాగి కటలేయ తిరువేంగళ
 నాథదేవరు గోవిందరాజదేవరసేవెయనూమాడికొందు ముఖదయ
 యిహదు శ్రీరామాచంద్ర ।

Translation.

1 May prosperity abide! Hail! On Sunday¹ the first lunar day of the bright fortnight of the Pushya (month) in the (oyolio) year Sarvajit current with the Saka year 1389 Śrīman Mahamanda lōkvara Mōdinimīsaragaṇḍa Kaṭhāri Saluva Narasiṅgāyyadēva Mahārāya (issued) an edict to the *Sthānikas* (*Sthānattār*) of Tirupati (complying with) their request to us (Narasīngāyyadōva) that they might be permitted to distribute amongst themselves the *prasāda* offered to Gōvīndarājādōva

¹ NOTE - The equivalent English date is 27th December 1487 A.C.

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similar to the practice (obtaining) at Tirumale, so as to maintain themselves therewith

2 In the manner of the practice (of the temple) of Tuvēṅgalanāthadēva for Gōvindarāja-dēva shall hand over at Tirumale. We (have granted), as a present to the men of Tirupati, the *prasāda* offered to Gōvindarājadēva.....*harivāṇa* (platefuls of cooked rice) that five *harivāṇa* out of the *harivāṇa* to be distributed, as already ordered to be served for eating, shall be reserved from the *viḷul kūḍu* (donor's share) during the *sandhyaḍaiṇṇu* (hour of distribution of the offered *prasādam*)
On the occasion of the *Makara saṅkranti* (winter solstice) for (the offerings of) Gōvindarājadēva, as our (charity) . . .

3 . . . for the conduct of the stipulated *navvēḍiya* (offerings) having granted the villages Mupaduvēta and Māngoduvelada in the Paḍaviḍurāja as well as the taxes on property and wares (*i.e.* octroi duties) (hitherto) collected towards our palace, and also granted Mananūru below the tank of Tirupati to cover (any additional expenses), having provided, for the offering to the deity, of twenty-six *harivāṇa*, one (*appa*)-*harivāṇu* and one *tiṟukkaṇāmadaḷ* as the *navvēḍiya*, six and a half *harivāṇa* thirteen *appa-prasāda* and *akkāl* *prasāda* forming the share of the donor out of the offered *harivāṇa-prasāda* and *prasāda-harivāṇa*

4. our queen this *prasāda* will be delivered each day, through the disciples in succes-

sion of Kandāla Rāmānujāyya to our *Rāmānuja kūṭa* situated within the temple of Gōvīndarājadēva in Tirupati, for being distributed among the Sri vaishnavas, both local and outside

Towards the refine camphor musk and saffron stipulated (to be offered) from (our) *Rāmānujakūṭa* to Tiruvēṅgalanathadēva at the time of the holy bath

5 crude camphor for waving a light, areca nuts and other articles offered in homage to the Sāttada Srivaishnavas, the disciples of Rāmānujāyya in succession, shall supply from our *Rāmānujakūṭa*

Just as we have stipulated, (the perfumery) shall continue (to be supplied) as our service to the above Gōvīndarājadēva. And this duty shall be discharged by his disciples in succession in consonance with our stipulations to Rāmānujāyya

From this time onwards (an equivalent of) the offerings made to Gōvīndarājadēva will be appropriated from the offerings (made) at Tirumale, and this practice will be observed both in the case of the daily monthly and other (occasional) rites (contributing) to the splendour (of worship) of the deity

The offering of two platefuls of butter which we have stipulated to be made to Aḷagiya Perumal of Tiruchānūr from the stores of Tiruvēṅgalanathadēva will be accordingly carried on

It is also ordered that the fees and perquisites (pertaining to the office) of the men of Tirupati

APPENDIX IX

in Tirupati . shall be paid in accordance with the prevailing custom

May (the Sāttāda-Srīvaishnavas) thus live happily, rendering service to Thuvōngalanāthadēva and Gōvindaīājadōva !

Sri Rāmachandra !



CHARGES

	Total	Establishment charges	Payable to Devasthanam mirasdars	Total Expenditure
	12	13	14	15
P	Rs. A P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A P	Rs. A. P
0	150 7 1	84 0 0	38 8 0	272 15 1
0	14 0 0	—	126 0 0	140 0 0
	6 8 0	31 8 0	180 15 0	218 15 0
	0 14 0	—	0 14 0	1 12 0
	0 14 0	—	0 14 0	1 12 0
7	156 4 8	—	246 3 4	402 8 0
	3 8	42 0 0	24 8 0	70 0 0
	0 14	—	0 14 0	1 12 0
	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—
5	89 0 8	—	—	89 0 8
9	4 11 9	—	2 4 3	7 0 0
	23 2 11	—	—	23 2 11
9	450 5 1	157 8 0	621 0 7	1,228 13 8

Rs. 3 8-0

ADDENDUM TO VOL I.

Page 378, Andal Shrine:—Add the accompanying note after “Thus it is only from 1495 A. D. that Andal emerges into full notice”.

In addition to inscription I. 98 of the year 1308 A. D., (No 51 G T) there is another inscription II. 141 (No 50 G T) on the same north wall, inner side of Andal's shrine which was made when Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar was in high light. A portion of every line of this inscription is covered by the rear wall of the Sanctum and the latter part by the masonry pedestal or base of the Idol. The best years of Sri Ayyangar extended from 1470 to about 1500 A.D. Therefore the sanctum would have been constructed sometime after 1470. The inscription states that it was made on a Monday of the Mesha month Sukla ashtami and the Ayyangar was only the kartar of the Ramanujakutam. He became the kartar of the Por-Bhandaram also on 1st July 1495.

In inscription II 83 (No 70 G T.) dated 6-6-1485 food offerings on the occasion of the sāttumurais of Nammalvar Periya alvar, Kulasekhara, Tirumangal alvar and Udaiyavar are mentioned. As Andal is not included in the list the inference is that there was no shrine for her till 1485. Again II 118 (No 66 G T.) [paras 7, 8 (page 261)] dated 9-3-1494

ADDENDUM TO VOL I

provides abhishekam and food offering to Sita Devi in Hanuman's shrine on the Kanu festival day sacred to Andal which indicates that Andal had not come into existence till March 1494. An undated inscription II 140 (No 624, T T) made after the Ayyangar had become Por Bhandaram kartar mentions Andal and weekly abhishekam for her which show that the shrine was constructed sometime after 1495 and before 1500 A. D

